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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2065



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AUSTRIAN TV EXAMINES MACEDONIAN QUESTION

[Editorial Report] Vienna Domestic Television Service in German at 1945 GMT on 26 August telecasts a 45-minute FRG produced program entitled "Macedonia--A Divided Land in the Balkans" by the reporter Helmut Clemens. After briefly describing the historic background of Macedonia, pointing out that until 1913 it was a Turkish colony, in fact the last colony in Europe, Clemens presents the geographic situation of Macedonia, pointing out that the country is divided among Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, and that despite the fact that the three countries recognize each others borders, the Macedonian issue is still evoking debates and conflict.

Clemens interviews Macedonian citizens of Yugoslavia and asks how they see themselves. A girl-student from Skopje answers that "she is first of all Macedonian and then also a citizen of Yugoslavia." Another student describes herself as "first of all cosmopolitan, and then a Yugoslav and a Macedonian."

Further on in the program Clemens interviews Bulgarian citizens of the town of Bansko, in the Macedonian Pirin region of Bulgaria, and asks them the same question. The answer invariably is "We are Bulgarians. Macedonia is a geographic region in the Balkans, which used to belong to Bulgaria, and whose citizens are Bulgarians."

Later in the program Clemens describes the Greek part of Macedonia, maintaining that "the Greeks have eradicated the Slavic language of Greek Macedonia's inhabitants." Many of the Greek Macedonians have fled to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Clemens then describes as one of the most crucial elements of the conflict the fact that Bulgaria "sees the Macedonians as West Bulgarians, including those living in Yugoslavia, while Yugoslavia considers the Macedonians, including those living in Bulgaria's Pirin region, a separate nation."

Bulgarian students, interviewed in Sofia, support their government's official position, namely, that the Macedonians are Bulgarians while Yugoslav students, interviewed in Skopje, answers "No, the Macedonians are a separate nation." Another Bulgarian student maintains that "people now are distorting the Macedonian issue, misusing the very name 'Macedonia'--this is a geographic area with one dominant element--the Bulgarians." "There is no Macedonian nation." A Yugoslav student follows: "The Bulgarians have no right to maintain that Macedonia is a part of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians are in fact Tatarians, so they cannot present any claims on Macedonia."

Further on Clemens describes the cultural history of Macedonia, pointing out that many elements of the Slavic culture are of Macedonian origin. He mentions the dispute about the origin of Tsar Samuil, celebrated as a great Bulgarian tsar by the Bulgarians, and as a Macedonian ruler by the Yugoslavs.

Further on the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish yoke in 1878 is described. According to the program, "The liberation was achieved with Russian assistance, which accounts for the Bulgarian sentimental attitude toward the Russians, which even today binds the two nations closer than communism." Afterward, the role of the 19th century powers in drawing the Bulgarian borders at the Berlin conference is analyzed.

The 1903 Ilinden insurrection in Macedonia against the Turks is described as an attempt to "establish the first socialist state, 14 years before the October revolution." "Were the Ilinden rebels Macedonians or Bulgarians of Macedonian origin?" Clemens asks, pointing out that the leaders of the insurrection, Gotse Delchev and Yane Sandanski are celebrated in both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Citizens of the two countries interviewed on this issue support their governments' official version. As in all other cases, the Yugoslav citizens are interviewed after the Bulgarians and allowed the opportunity to answer the Bulgarian claim.

Schools in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are shown in the process of teaching the history of Tsar Samuil.

Describing the historic circumstances of Macedonia's division the announcer says: "The population of Macedonia were never asked about their wishes." He adds: "In both world wars Bulgaria tried to annex the entire territory of Macedonia, with German help, but could not achieve this." He points out that at the end of World War II Bulgaria was left with the smallest part of Macedonia.

At this point, Aleksandar Aleksiev, former director of Radio Skopje and today in charge of the Macedonian Archives, describes life under Serbian and Bulgarian occupation, both of whom applied the "same brutal methods of nationalization." The announcer imparts that "in the 20's and the 30's the terror of the Serbs against the Macedonians was well known throughout the world, while in 1941 the Bulgarians came not as brothers, but as fascist invaders and established a brutal police regime." This was the reason that so many Macedonians joined the Tito partisan forces, the announcer says, adding that after World War II Macedonia became one of the six SFRY republics. "The hardship from the hands of the Serbs and Bulgarians ended."

"However, Tito and his Bulgarian counterpart, Dimitrov, had other plans: Macedonia was to be a part of a Balkan federation," the announcer says. In this context he describes the 1946 visit of Georgi Dimitrov to Yugoslavia and the Bled agreement on establishing a federation, which in the future Albania, Romania and perhaps Hungary were to join.

The announcer says that the idea was torpedoed by Stalin. Since then, however, the Macedonian awareness of the populations on both sides of the border has been oppressed. As a result very few people on the Bulgarian side of the border are ready to define themselves as Macedonians, including people who had done

so in 1946. Bulgarian peasants asked while they work whether they know anything about the issue, more or less ignore the interviewer, answering "I do not know," "I answered already," and so forth; however, they too describe themselves as Bulgarians.

Ivan Ganev, Bulgarian deputy minister of foreign affairs, interviewed on the Macedonian issue then says that the Bulgarian position on Macedonia--in principle--has not changed. Only some administrative regulations were cancelled after World War II. This was connected with the political situation of that time--the plans to found a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation and abolish the borders between the two countries. In addition, Ganev says, there was a strong foreign pressure on Bulgaria, which forced us to make some concessions.

The announcer then describes the independence of the Macedonian Church and analyzes the church's role in strengthening the Macedonian national awareness. Archbishop Angelarij of Macedonia, interviewed on the subject of Macedonian Church independence denies any connection with Bulgaria, calling Samuil "a Macedonian tsar," and defends his church's claim of independence. Metropolitan Pankratij of Bulgaria, reading a prepared statement, maintains that "no Slavic Orthodox churches, including the Serbian Church, have ever recognized the independence of the Church of Macedonia. The character of the population this church serves is predominantly Bulgarian."

The interviewer, attending a religious service of the Macedonian Church says: "The Macedonian believers have very little connection with the Bulgarians." Several peasants interviewed on life under the Bulgarians say: "It was terrible, we had nothing, we were naked as worms." Asked whether they know about the claims of Bulgaria on Macedonia, the peasants reject the claims, saying they have all their rights which were given to them by Tito. "In Bulgaria the people think that the Macedonians consider themselves Bulgarians and do not admit this only because of fear of repressions," the announcer says. Describing the celebrations of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the announcer says: "It was not only the Yugoslavs who were shocked by these celebrations, because they described the kingdom of Samuil very provocatively as Bulgarian history, but also the USSR, who in fact never expressed its official stand on the Macedonian issue. This has worried the Bulgarians. Is Moscow preserving the option of rewarding possible return of Yugoslavia to the Soviet bloc by allowing the Bulgarian part of Macedonia to be annexed to Yugoslavia?" "Such fears are not strange to the Bulgarians," the announcer says. He says that Bulgaria has repeatedly stated that it has no territorial claims toward Yugoslavia. "Officially Bulgaria recognizes both the Macedonian borders and the existence of a nation within those borders. On the other hand, there are publications of some scholars, including a Politburo member, which demonstrate the opposite," the announcer says. In this context he describes the memoirs of Tsola Dragoycheva, the eldest Bulgarian Politburo member, on the Macedonian issue, quoting her that Bulgaria could not defend its position on Macedonia at the end of World War II, because it was on the losing side. The announcer also maintains that the Yugoslavs consider the repeated proposal of Todor Zhivkov to sign an agreement on the permanence of the borders as a "diversion maneuver."

Tomislav Simoski, foreign minister of the Republic of Macedonia, is asked by the interviewer: "Since Bulgaria says that there are no territorial claims on its side, and Yugoslavia has no claims, why don't you sign an agreement to this effect?" In response, Simoski maintains that before any agreement all the rights of the Macedonian population of Bulgaria must first be respected.

At the end of the program the frequent fairs along the border are described, the announcer saying that on such occasions the participants decline the offer to discuss the situation. In conclusion, he says that "the Macedonian problem has always been decided by foreigners. However, it has never been solved."

CSO: 2300/15



## YOUTH OFFICIAL ON VIGILANCE AGAINST ALIEN IDEALS

AU301431 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Sep 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Koco Danaj, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania: "Let Us Reinforce Among the Youth Deep and Healthy Convictions Toward Socialism"]

[Excerpts] Our country's youth, led by the party and Comrade Enver's teachings, is an active fighter for building socialism, consolidating the present and preparing for the future. This can be noticed in all the youth's work and efforts for our country's socialist construction, where it has always been at the forefront in realizing tasks. The Eighth AWP Congress emphasized that the strengthening of convictions among communists, cadres, workers and especially the younger generation toward socialism and its vitality and superiority becomes especially important under the present conditions.

One of the most important ways of strengthening deep and healthy socialist convictions among the youth is its active participation in the country's socialist construction. Analyzing the great work done by the youth on all fronts of socialist construction, the Eighth AWP Congress suggested that even in the future, the youth's interest in the country's problems should be raised so that it, as the most vital force of the people, will powerfully take part in socialist construction and will be continually better prepared for life. To realize this task requires more profound work by the youth organizations and organs, so that it is not limited to simply fulfilling norms in the cooperative or enterprise or to passing a course. The accomplishment of great tasks in socialist construction and reinforcing defense, the introduction of continually more modern technology and equipment into our economy, and other things create great tasks for the youth to better use the technology and equipment available to it, to continually and steadily assimilate scientific knowledge--whether at school, qualification courses, or through individual studies--so that productivity and quality are raised wherever young people work and their practical creative spirit is uninterruptedly developed.

Deepening the work for the patriotic education of the youth requires more organized activity to know not only our people's revolutionary traditions or the glorious epoch of the national liberation struggle, but also the most important events of the period of socialist construction, such as the collectivization of agriculture, the country's socialist industrialization, the deepening



of the cultural and ideological revolution, our party's struggle against revisionism and other things.

The educational work of youth organs and organizations aims at creating deep convictions among the youth that all the victories of socialist construction have been achieved through a harsh class struggle with internal and external enemies, as well as with the remnants or influences of alien ideologies in our people's minds. The youth's knowledge of this important aspect of the processing of building socialism will further increase its love for the party, the socialist state and dictatorship of the proletariat, and will further raise feelings of responsibility. It thus will engage more actively in fulfilling all tasks.

The Eighth AWP Congress emphasized that the party should tirelessly work so that the communists, people and younger generation are continually educated with the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle, so that they are always vigilant and ready to defend socialism. Today the situations demand tireless work from the youth to fulfill all tasks--a militant spirit and revolutionary vigilance for its own good, the good of the people and the future generations. One of the important fields in the development of the class struggle where the youth is engaged is the struggle against influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideology on the understanding of life and the way of life in the ethical-moral sphere and other areas. The youth and its organizations have often undertaken various ideological discussions and actions in this field. Such movements and discussions for the deepening of the struggle against alien liberal or conservative manifestations--for example: "Let us cleanse the scum from our consciousness" and other things--have strengthened the active and uncompromising stand of the youth toward alien manifestations. From this point of view, the youth is correctly playing its role as a striking force also against manifestations of petit-bourgeois psychology, especially in the attitude toward work and property. The sharp edge of this struggle has been directed against the remnants of the past as well as the degenerate influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which as the Eighth AWP Congress emphasized, although they are advertised as "modern," or "progressive," are in essence just as old and very dangerous, if not more so. Yet it is necessary to better struggle against cases in which these alien manifestations are minimized, treated superficially as small and unimportant, and so forth.

The youth everywhere is to be found working for the construction of socialism. This implies that the youth has a duty not only to raise its interest in important problems of socialist construction, not only should it not comply with cases of distortions and breaches of discipline, unjust favoritism, liberal manifestations, opportunist and sectional attitudes in the development of the class struggle, but it should continually become engaged in a struggle against these alien manifestations, whether or not they are directly tied to its work. This is being accompanied by a more correct understanding by the youth organization of its role and tasks, not only to cultivate in the youth this revolutionary bravery but also to powerfully support youth for the problems it raises.

With high political enthusiasm, our younger generation is preparing for the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. The youth has engaged itself in actions and revolutionary initiatives, has raised impetus at work, has become a strong support to fulfill the plan's tasks, to implement new scientific and progressive ideas in all fields. The Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania is an important moment for analyzing and implementing the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress by the younger generation of our country, which with deep convictions on the road of full socialist construction, loyally follows the party at every step, being led, inspired and educated by it.

CSO: 2100/1

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

**HOMAGES PAID TO MARTYRS**--On the eve of the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves on behalf of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, the delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, the Tirana District AWP Committee, the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee and the Tirana District Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. The ceremony was attended by Lunturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania; Faik Cinaj, secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; representatives of the delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, young men and women and others. Wreaths were also laid by the foreign delegations invited to attend the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. [Summary] [AU041053 Tirana Domestic Service in Albania 1900 GMT 3 Oct 82]

**OFFICIAL RECEIVES FOREIGN DELEGATIONS**--Lunturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, today received the foreign Marxist youth delegations which will be taking part in the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania at the invitation of its Central Committee. Taking part in the meeting were secretaries of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania and others. [Summary] [AU031526 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 3 Oct 82]

**LLESHI GREETES GUINEA LEADER**--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Sekou Toure, president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea: It is my pleasure, on the occasion of the national holiday of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my own name to convey to you cordial greetings and best wishes for the country's continuous development and the happiness of the friendly people of Guinea. I am convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will develop even more in our common interest and in the interest of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. [Text] [AU021526 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 82]

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

AFGHAN UNION OF ARTISTS DELEGATION--CSR Minister of Culture M. Kusak received a delegation of Afghan Union of Artists which arrived in the CSSR at the invitation of Union of Czechoslovak Composers. The Afghan artists were represented by Aslam Akran, first deputy chairman of Union of Artists and Mashour Jamal, director of musical section of Union of Artists. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 4]

AFGHAN TRADE UNION VISIT--CSR Minister of Health J. Prokopec met on 6 October with Afghan health workers' trade union delegation led by Kabul Hospital director Dr Amin Safi. The delegation arrived at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 4]

VIETNAMESE TRADE UNIONISTS ARRIVE--Central Council of Trade Unions Secretary V. Kozik met on 6 October with a group of experts from General Federation of Vietnamese Trade Unions led by Haiphong Trade Union Council Chairman Le Phong. The visitors have been invited by Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 4]

CSO: 2400/10

PROBLEMS, PROGRESS OF PRISONER REHABILITATION NOTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Aug 82 p 12

[Article by Katalin Szoghy: "Utogondozas a megelozesert (Rehabilitation for Prevention)"]

[Text] The idea that crime is a social problem has been worn to a cliché, and because of this, we rarely evaluate all phases in the process of crime, including the fight against crime, which does not end with successful detective work and the severe punishment of criminals. Following the release of criminals, the protection of society requires equally important tasks to be solved, all within the framework of rehabilitation. The rehabilitation of former criminals released from prison--a task that had fallen under the aegis of the courts for years--serves a dual purpose: to help, support and reintegrate into society those released criminals who have lost their previous jobs and family relationships during their prison years and second to insure the supervision and inspection of those persons who may regress and commit new crimes after being released.

Individualization Is Important

Several years of statistical data has proven that rehabilitation increasingly fulfills the hopes attached to it, which can be attributed, among other factors, to the fact that practice quickly accommodates itself to the demands posed and accumulated from year to year. Thus, at the outset, patron supervision prescribed by the courts within the framework of rehabilitation affected primarily the recidivists, but it also applied to those criminals who had lost their freedom for a longer period for committing serious crimes and who were not eligible for probation either due to misconduct while serving their sentences. In other instances, it was left up to the released persons whether or not they would make use of the support offered them. Soon it became evident that patron supervision is justified in wider circles, since the number of those who became recidivists while on parole was substantial, and even those with suspended sentences committed new crimes during their probationary period. On this basis, the new penal code made it possible for the courts to order patron supervision in cases of probation, suspended sentences and parole.

By making the best of the opportunities presented by the penal code, within 5 years the courts have placed nearly 12,000 persons under patron supervision, and during this time, 85 percent of them have not committed further criminal acts.



The success of criminal rehabilitation is also proven by the fact that in the earlier years and decades a high percentage of criminals became recidivists. It is hoped, and with due right, that in the next few years this ratio will become more favorable to a marked degree. To achieve this, it is also necessary that the courts rule correctly on who is to be placed under such supervision and what length of time will be the most effective for his or her rehabilitation.

Today, the opportunities are many for the utilization of the most favorable codes of conduct with the supervisory program to best suit the individual situation and the unique personality of the parolee; nevertheless, according to the latest analyses, everyday practice is still unsure in its correctness of judgment--excluding those cases that require patron supervision on the basis of the penal code--as to when supervision would be best and which are the cases in which a fear of further crime is a reality.

Regarding the individualized codes of conduct prescribed to each parolee: it is the task of the members of the court's official parole board, and the social patrons--who number nearly 3,500 nationwide--appointed from the parolee's place of employment or residence, to supervise the execution of these codes. These codes of conduct may vary to a great extent; it may be ordered, for example, that the supervised individual take a job at a designated company, that he or she be barred from visiting certain institutions or public places, that the parolee not engage in friendly relations with designated persons who may be of negative influence, that they continue their public education, etc. However, it seems that to correctly decide the individual code of conduct is not an easy task either. Practice has shown that the courts usually prescribe more severe codes to recidivists than to first-offense criminals. This is not the least bit surprising when we consider that there are more data on hand about the life style and inclinations of the former than the latter. And there is not enough time to become fully acquainted with all parolees: one parole officer has 100-150 persons to look after, along with the simultaneous supervision of those sentenced to the reformatory and work-study.

#### Assistance of Large Enterprises

The most important form of aid for the parolees is to find them an appropriate place of employment. Within the framework of organized rehabilitation, the judicial authorities have signed cooperative agreements with seven large enterprises, so that the Csepel Motor Works, the State Construction Industries of Bacs, Gyor and Zala Counties, and the National Ore and Mineral Mines of the Matra Works, among others, have offered to take on the parolees in larger numbers and give them work and housing. The majority of criminals paroled from solitary confinement is also accepted by these factories--parolees who are trying to turn over a new leaf as a result of their severe sentence. A network of social patrons in these factories helps the newcomers to adjust smoothly to their new environment and assists them to solve many type problems.

As a result of these cooperative agreements, these enterprises have helped with the resettlement of more than 600 released criminals, and these results also reflect the national average: only about 15 percent of the persons they receive return to prison or close confinement under this rehabilitation program.

Criticism is nevertheless legitimate: this ratio could be improved through the social patron network. It has been found in many places that the recidivists return to their old ways after several months, or maybe a year, without--so it seems--any warning. In the course of some research, many criminals have been asked why they could not stick with the clean way of life, why they returned to prison. Their answers have to be taken with some reservation, since the persons in question are self-serving, but the repeated arguments nevertheless lead us to thought-provoking deductions.

#### Without Prejudice

In many cases, the recidivists explain their conduct by the fact that they are ridiculed in the factory, are looked down on and mistreated because of their past, so that out of despair they leave their jobs. "I didn't have money and got some by committing crimes," explains the majority. It was also deduced, but in fewer instances, that the patronized criminals who returned to prison were expelled from their housing and jobs for trivial misconduct. Still others cited the difficult situation the workers' housing presents, where it is nearly impossible not to participate in collective drinking, and alcohol usually sweeps them into crime.

These arguments are taken cynically in factory workers circles, contrasting with the view that others drink, too, but that does not make criminals out of them. And how do they pass judgment on those who are ridiculed and then leave because of "shame?" One who is ashamed should not begin stealing and cheating again.

Naturally; and it is obvious from the research data that the recidivists realize that they are primarily responsible for their actions. This fact does not alter the situation: Close attention must be given to the former criminals at the first job following release because their moral conduct, which is not yet strong, may vanish with the loss of their first job. Many of them recall: "I was ashamed of myself," and then they run because of the ridicule of fellow workers; and this says nothing about the near future, in which additional crimes will be committed. Unfortunately, only few individuals within the factory workers circles realize that instead of formulating prejudices, first of all, there should be some type of demand created for a moral, human way of life, because only this can become the basis for self-respect and awaken the desire to prove one's self to society.

The following conclusion can be drawn from the research findings for the scientists working within the field of rehabilitation: The role and influence of social patrons must be strengthened at places of employment to alter the negative attitude toward criminals. Today, conditions have matured so--and this is needed in the present--that the stress on the connection between the patron and patronized party must be removed and placed on the relationship between the rehabilitated person and his environment. Experience shows collective support is the prerequisite for achieving strong and lasting results.

12191

CSO: 2500/373

FIRST DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH, INTERNEES

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 22, 29 Aug 82 pp 6, 7, 15

[Interview with Gen Div Boguslaw Stachura, first deputy minister of internal affairs, by Barbara Biegajska; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, how do you define the problems of the younger generation in light of the current domestic sociopolitical situation? What is martial law to the young generation?

[Answer] The recently held Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] comprehensively discussed the problems of the younger generation. It is impossible to consider the entire contents of this debate in a brief interview. Nor can we add anything vital or new after such a short time to the questions discussed or the assessments and the decisions made therein. In spite of this, I do believe that it is worthwhile to give as frequent emphasis as is possible to the most important conclusions of the Ninth Plenum deliberations, as well as to the directions for improving this situation that were adopted. It is very important to pinpoint all questions related to the younger generation of Poles within the context of the general social situation. Practically none of the problems brought up by young people are unique to them alone. The young generation makes up a significant portion of all classes and social strata; it identifies with the interests and aspirations of these groups, although it also has its own specific, vital needs. I believe that we are living in a period in which the older generation is much more inclined than it once was to understand young people. That is why the line of understanding is more powerful than the generational gap, even when it comes to assessing the domestic situation.

We must all work to resolve the problems of youth, which are the problems of us all. This is true for the housing problem, the problem of the total, optimal utilization of the labor force and their qualifications and the problem of promoting the right people--those who are competent. It is also true for all other social problems and problems of daily living.

Another important issue is the party's great emphasis on the notion that young people themselves must overcome obstacles to a significant degree. On the other hand, it is the duty of state and party authorities to create the circumstances for young people to do so. In other words, the plenum did

not promise gifts, but work--hard work, perhaps, but work that would give ultimate satisfaction. In my opinion, this has real educative value, even though I understand that the self-indulgent do not agree with me.

A third issue involves the duties and responsibility of youth organizations. Their duty and the basic criterion of their activity today is above all their ability to demonstrate inventiveness and initiative, dynamism and the skill to convince and win over those who are frustrated, as well as the success of their measures taken to create the organizational framework of activities for their own welfare, for those who so desire.

While these issues do not exhaust the problem, they are very vital matters.

What is martial law to the young generation? That is a difficult and ambiguous question. Although all citizens are subject to the rigors of martial law, it is perhaps the young people who have taken it the hardest. Please reflect calmly whether this martial state has restored the normal conditions of quiet work and study. Was the situation that prevailed before 13 December acceptable or good for our country? Was the situation normal or peaceful when not even one day was free from social disturbances, strikes paralyzing the life of entire voivodships and institutions of higher learning, a brutal, libelous campaign against persons and institutions in authority, exhortations to physically liquidate political opponents and the resultant progressive process of our country's destruction?

Martial law was initiated to guarantee Poland's socialist future, which is the future of all of its young people. Their overwhelming majority speak out in favor of basic socialist ideals, social justice, abiding by the law and democratic forms of government.

I believe that maturation during a period of difficulty and conflict is hastened. Perhaps this issue--the issue of the need to choose, declare oneself and define--determines the situation of the younger generation today. Their somewhat older brothers and sisters passed through their youth under conditions of relative stability. Most of their problems and conflicts were of a private, psychological nature. Today politics has been thrust sharply into the forefront. This forces young people to think and act. I have reason to believe that most young people know how to think and act according to the most just and fundamental rules of patriotism, responsibility, reason and political wisdom. This makes me optimistic. Those who were pushed and often used in activities of a completely different nature--contrary to the law and to the social and national interest--now have an opportunity to take stock and draw conclusions. I do not deny that moods of resistance, disillusionment and despondency could have and did appear among them. So what? No one should write such people off without trying to convince and gain them for society, without giving them a chance to improve. No one will write them off as a loss!

[Question] What is martial law in terms of security and public order?



[Answer] It is a system of measures guaranteeing security and public order and the safety of every citizen. It is an extraordinary state initiated because of a known threat to the life of the people and to oppose these dangers. It is the temporary restriction of certain civic freedoms in the name of a higher good. It is a radical and ultimate measure, undertaken consciously and in a situation of extreme danger, after the very responsible and detailed consideration and calculation of its positive and negative consequences. It is, as we have seen, an effective measure. One may say that effectiveness is not always a sufficient justification for a given action. However, in this case, the difficult decisions of the authorities and the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] were justified in a considerably broader, basic way. It has had several calculable results which give us all--the whole of society--the chance to avert a disaster and emerge from a severe crisis. It has created conditions for isolating the major leaders of counterrevolution from the various social milieus that they tried to manipulate (sometimes, unfortunately, with success); it has ensured an opportunity for the effective and efficient implementation of economic-organizational decisions favoring economic reform and the control of market and production anarchy; it has enabled the improved protection of personal security and of the health and life of citizens against unruly criminal elements and roughnecks; it has fostered the general improvement of social and employee discipline, which has inestimable significance in our situation. While it has meant the introduction of the familiar rigors and restrictions, we all await the change in the domestic situation that will enable it to be lifted as soon as possible.

Our ministry is not awaiting this passively: it is doing all it can within the scope of its duties and powers to ensure that this change will occur. At the same time, we are taking into account all positive tendencies and changes, and we are trying to withdraw those rigors that have fulfilled their role and have become unnecessary due to improved law and order. Of course, this refers to those rigors whose recall lies within our power. The state authorities are also doing so consistently on a broader scale. Recent proof of this was the decision related to the celebration of the Polish Rebirth holiday announced by Premier Gen W. Jaruzelski in his Sejm address.

[Question] The martial law regulations, on whose basis the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] operates, are gradually being moderated. This refers in particular to those regulations that have restricted the rights of ordinary citizens, often imposing duties on them (curfews, permission to visit another domestic location, the reactivation of certain associations and the like). What activities will the ministry undertake in this regard in the near future and what conditions must be fulfilled to further ease daily existence under martial law?

[Answer] The previous answer is a partial reply to this question. In short, all rigors and restrictions that are now unnecessary will be lifted immediately. It will be promoted by growing social calm, an increase in respect and regard for the law, a guarantee of sufficient authority and the



possibility that all elements of authority and the state administration will fulfill their obligations and the further improvement of social attitudes, especially the gradual spread of understanding for the political and moral intentions underlying the decisions to introduce martial law.

However, the normalization process is impeded by the counterrevolutionary plans and actions of the internal opposition and aggressive outside forces; they inspire street incidents and threaten a nationwide strike. We must deal with the venomous propaganda and economic blackmail of the United States. In spite of this, more and more symptoms of normalization are appearing. More and more people are casting off their obstinacy and some former activists are coming out of hiding, entering the mainstream of the normal work of millions.

Undoubtedly, it will take a long time for us to draw conclusions from events of the recent past, to shift from the emotional and rash assessment of this past to a calm, rational and constructive evaluation. The shorter this period, the nearer the opportunity of social understanding and rebirth and the shorter the period of restrictions and stringencies.

[Question] A problem widely discussed and rampant with rumor is that of the internees. Please give us a more accurate indication of their number and plans regarding them. For example, how many people have asked to leave the country?

[Answer] There is much interest surrounding the internee question. It has been the subject of much discussion and rumor and many questions. In anti-Polish propaganda, the number of internees has been exaggerated and their living conditions have been falsely described. Few people believe diversionary rumors any more. We have systematically kept the public informed about the number of internees. The Polish press, radio and television have given this issue much attention. The testimony of the internees themselves (most of whom have been freed) has given the lie to rumors and hearsay. The truth has also been brought to light by family members of internees and by representatives of Polish and foreign institutions who have visited centers of confinement.

Since 13 December 1982, decisions have been rendered to intern 8,528 persons. At the same time, decisions to release internees were being made; decisions concerning the internment of 7,582 people in all were repealed. Following the July decisions of the WRON to repeal internments and to give a leave to other internees, 647 people remained in internment confinement centers, or about 7 percent of those who had been interned. Several hundred internees (730, to be exact) announced their intention to leave the country. Of these, 700, along with their family members, have been granted permission to go abroad. Thus far, only 10 former internees have left the country. The remainder are trying to get exit visas to states that intend to grant them residence. Is this not a telling illustration of the idea that some influential centers of these states have greater need of the activity of these people in Poland than they do their presence in the West?

[Question] For preventive purposes, a new group of people was interned before and after 13 May 1982. Who are they? From what milieus do they come?

[Answer] Internment is a preventive measure. Hence, in May as before, the reason was the grave and justified presumption that a given person may attempt to undertake antistate, illegal activities, he may call for and organize excesses, he may intend to participate in possible demonstrations and street rallies, bringing the danger of disturbances, he may set up strikes and interruptions in work, he may stir up the people and spread false rumors and hearsay.

The massive political provocation planned in May by the opponents of socialism in Poland meant that most internees in that month were recruited from those people who took part in its preparations, and from some participants in the incidents that occurred in May in several Polish cities. As we all know, the provocation, so painstakingly prepared, fizzled out. It was not the first time that the enemies of socialism had failed to achieve their goal. There were also young people among the 750 internees, whose ardor and emotions were abused in actions that ran counter to their own interests. These have already been released. Meanwhile, those people who, with full awareness, aimed in May to realize their plan to create major disruptions in the life of Poland, remain in centers of confinement.

[Question] For preventive purposes, those people whose attitudes and views engendered doubts were questioned. How many young people were among these, and who are they?

[Answer] Approximately 27,000 people were questioned as a preventive measure. The basic and only reason for questioning them was the confirmation that they had engaged in illegal activity. We merely wanted to warn interested parties and prevent them from having to use more stringent legal measures. Under no circumstances were the political views of these persons the pretext for questioning. For the most part, young people were not involved in the questioning.

[Question] The polarization of views exists in many milieus, especially among young people. What is the impact of conflicting views among youth on participation in street riots?

[Answer] I would need the help of sociologists and psychologists to answer this question. Different attitudes and motives underlie participation in street riots. The clashing of attitudes here is considerable. A small percentage of very active participants in these riots is very disinclined or even inimical to the authorities and the system. They believe that they are struggling in defense of their own ideals, lost ideals that history has made obsolete. But these people are in the minority. Many others treat the street riots as a lark, an adventure, an opportunity to prove their nerve and their barnyard heroism. They are subjected to the pressure of enemy radio propaganda, fliers and whisperings that try to tell them that they are waging a holy war for a just cause. Fortunately, most of them do not take this seriously; unfortunately, they do not always understand and accept the warnings and attempts made by those who try to bring them to their sense.

Who are they, and what prompts them to act reprehensibly and rashly? I believe that they are young people who are lost and perplexed. They have been neglected in various ways and have had a faulty upbringing (much is now being said openly about these people). They are groping about in the dark, looking for chances to be "involved" and to find their self-identity. They search constantly and naively, they get burned and bear the brunt of their own mistakes. The aggressive enemy propaganda campaign that was waged for 6 months after August 1980 taught them not to believe in anything "officially" said or done; their values system became overturned; their assessments and standards that naturally followed in the direction of socialism became confused. At the same time, they saw the mounting evils being uncovered and mistakes being laid bare. These were major ailments for which they had no cure and over which they had no control. One can try to understand them and help them to mature. While they continue to make mistakes, however, they must be set straight for their own sake as well as for the sake of society in general.

Those involved in the May street riots also included young people from demoralizing surroundings who had been subject to criminalizing and depraved influences and who sometimes had already had trouble with the law and with organs of public order. For such individuals, destruction, demolition and throwing rocks at militiamen is often a sort of personal revenge. There has not been and will not be any leniency toward such people.

There is another problem here. There are those educators or would-be educators of youth who either did not know how or simply did not wish to use all of their influence and authority to keep the youth from taking part in the riots; they either acted passively or with assent. How much are they to blame? We all wish and we all should strive, in the words of Jan Kochanowski "for commonsense among the young."

[Question] Please describe the problem of crime under martial law. It seemed that during the first weeks and months that the 13 December 1981 decree was in effect, crime decreased sharply. Now the criminals seem to have surfaced once again.

[Answer] That is correct. During the first weeks of martial law, crime suddenly dropped. This positive trend continues in some categories of crime. Unfortunately, criminality related to the economic crisis is growing: speculation, theft, robbery by assault, extortion and economic crimes. However, we have the instruments and the weapons to fight against these dangers. A large percentage of the current examples of crime in the above categories is on the increase due to the elimination of certain barriers that put a stop to what were covert activities before the initiation of martial law. We have increased our chances for warding off crime effectively. The danger to the safety, health and life of peaceful citizens has declined notably; before December 1981, these people were often afraid to go out into the street after dark. We would be naive to believe that the level of crime rests exclusively upon the efficient operation of the militia. The crimes engendered by the crisis will disappear when the situation improves and the crisis ends. A general



improvement in the socioeconomic situation will be an objective condition for the stabilizing of the tendency toward a reduction in crime. For the time being, we still have much to do. I assure you, we are doing our best; we are totally committed.

[Question] MSW officials have liquidated many illegal printing operations, small-scale printers and weapons; underground organizations have been uncovered. Can you be more specific about the milieus in which this occurs and tell us whether young people are involved in these matters?

[Answer] Illegal printing activity under martial law was undertaken by persons associated with the extremist NSZZ [Self-governing Independent Trade Union] Solidarity, for the most part. Young people, sometimes the very young, are used primarily for the distribution of illegal publications. For a certain period after martial law was put into effect, there was a sort of fad for organizing illegal groups in which many young people participated. In some cases, the activity of these groups assumed frightening proportions. An example of this is the activity of the group from Grodzisko Mazowieckie, whose members murdered an MO [Citizens' Militia] officer.

Young people represent a majority of society. This is a statistical premise explaining the fact that they make up a significant percentage of the participants of illegal groups and organizations. I hope that what I have stated above proves that I am not convinced that one's generational affiliations do not explain entirely why he enters the path of crime or becomes involved in illegal, antipolitical activity. One's fate and actions are not determined by his date of birth. Frustration, immaturity, moods of youth rivalry and similar phenomena are only some of the causes of negative attitudes. The rest are most often the consequence of intentional, negative influence—the result of manipulation by those who do not always know how to be enthusiastic for natural reasons. We are trying to distinguish ultimate results from their causes and underlying circumstances, and I believe we will succeed. That is why one is able to discern in my statements a sincere concern over restraint and objectivism in assessments and diagnoses. We do not need some sort of antiyouth phobias; nor do we need to play up to youth because of the way things are.

[Question] Do MSW organs make mistakes in their work? The officials of this ministry can err or waver. It can be, or rather, is an overwhelming experience for an individual. Please explain the psychological aspect of MSW work.

[Answer] Work in our organs is likewise difficult from the psychological viewpoint. It requires a special predisposition and special skills in this area. Do we make mistakes? You have already answered this question in part yourself. To err is human. The officials of the MSW, like other citizens, have no patent on infallibility. There are cases that are improperly conducted among the 5 million we handle each year. With such a large volume, this is to be expected. I would like to emphasize, however, that no form of an MSW official's overstepping or not fulfilling his duties goes unpunished. Every official who violates the regulations is disciplined

or penalized. The ministry's system of training and discipline is comprehensive and aims to prepare the militiaman in such a way that he will always stay within the bounds of propriety and avoid error.

Unlike the office worker who normally has plenty of time to weigh a situation and make the best decision, the militiaman does not function in comfort and by stages. The militiaman, undertaking to protect the calm and safety of others, must quickly assess a situation, decide immediately and act without delay. An onlooker may not see eye to eye with a militiaman's method of intervention or a kibitzer may err in his assessment of the situation or the particular facts. But the militiaman does not view things from a safe distance; he cannot wait for hours. He is responsible for what is happening and must anticipate what may happen. For this he needs basic professional knowledge, discretion and social maturity. He needs control, iron nerves, physical dexterity and mental resistance. It should be kept in mind that these people from whom so much is demanded are often young men in their 20's. They are the contemporaries of their fellow factory workers and students, yet they are often unfairly maligned in mercilessly disseminated gossip and rumors.

Nearly 60 percent of the MSW officials are under 35 years of age; they are well qualified, both generally and professionally. The difficult period of the past months has demonstrated the tremendous mental resistance of MO and SB [Security Service] officials. The attempts to step up the ideological influencing of young, new officers to break down the apparatus have not succeeded. Young people brought up in People's Poland have a good understanding of the values underlying the words--nation, state, law and order and socialism. These officers and all of us in the ministry are interested in the same thing as are all honest people in our tired country--the guarantee of calm in our common home, our homeland. This is our primary goal. We can achieve it only together with the entire society, young and old alike, with mutual trust and working side by side, not in opposition to one another.

Our activity is based on binding legal documents. All official actions undertaken by ministry officials are based on the same binding legal principles, under the supervision of the public prosecutors. If charges and an indictment are brought against someone, he is examined by the court or by a body in charge of handling offenses against the law. Thus, every citizen has the right to defend himself during a hearing before a court or a collegial body. All of these mechanisms operate to keep to a minimum the consequences of possible subjective error and transgressions that may have occurred previously.

I understand that your question has another purpose. What is our approach to situations in which a young person faces his first encounter with our organs? It is often difficult and unpleasant for him, since this contact frequently determines his future actions and attitudes. We approach such cases with as much care and tact as are possible. I should like to note that in the case of the uncovering and liquidation of many illegal youth groups, we always have tried first to use clement measures: discussions,



convincing the young person of the blameworthiness of his behavior, admonition and warning. Often long and sincere talks by our officials with such young people in the presence of their parents or guardians, attended by the school superintendent or public prosecutor, ended the matter. This often produced the desired effect. We do not wish primarily to instill fear. Nor do we expect special manifestations of adoration. We want our work to be respected and we want the law, to which we are all subject on an equal basis, to be respected as well.

[Interview] Thank you for the interview.

8536

CSO: 3600/927

NEW MINISTER FOR YOUTH AFFAIRS INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, minister for youth affairs, by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "The Facts Are the Best Argument; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Recently, a Council of Ministers Committee on Youth Affairs was formed under the chairmanship of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. This is a new institution in our state administration. We spoke with its deputy chairman, Minister for Youth Affairs Andrzej Ornat, about the purposes and sphere of activity of the committee.

[Question] The committee has attracted a great deal of public interest, especially from the younger segment of society. Both the institution itself and the office of the minister for youth affairs have no precedent in our social practice. What was the basis for this decision?

[Answer] As far back as we can remember, every socioeconomic crisis has brought with it the so-called youth problem. Above all, youth's needs have had to be looked into and satisfied, since the younger generation is considerably more sensitive to the breakdown of the economy and the disruption of social order and bears the consequences of this much longer than the older generation. Every time, the authorities have promised to improve young people's situation in life and a resolution has been adopted that many of the problems would be resolved jointly. Fair decisions have been adopted, but implementation of these began in the course of time to be "swept away" by a multitude of other matters that were no less difficult to resolve.

For example, in 1972, the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee adopted a resolution on the party's tasks in educating young people. In a short time, the Sejm adopted a resolution on the tasks of the people and the state with respect to the younger generation. Possibilities were sketched out for its participation in resolving its own problems; this was closely read by both young and society. There were no institutional guarantees, however, that the decisions adopted would be carried out systematically and consistently.

After 1980, the youth problem appeared again, this time with enormous force and in the context of a general crisis. Both in party discussions on the

directions for a renewal of life in Poland and in the social demands and position of the youth organizations regarding the status of the youth movement there are many elements demonstrating the need to assign priorities to the affairs of the younger generation. This is confirmed by a resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Also on that occasion, among other things, during the proceedings of the congress people began to discuss the need to create institutions that would make it possible to implement the decrees adopted on youth affairs.

The discussions of this topic lasted for a long time--there were both supporters and opponents of this proposal. In July, the ninth plenum of the party Central Committee recommended the formation of a Committee for Youth Affairs.

[Question] What will be the sphere of its activity? Have the experiences of similar institutions in Hungary, the GDR and France, where there is a minister for youth affairs, been helpful?

[Answer] We are obviously making use of those experiences, but our situation in Poland is primarily what predetermines what we should do. The principal matter is cooperation in shaping conditions for the life and upbringing of the younger generation. The committee is also expected to specify the principles for youth's participation as a partner in the work of representative and self-managing organs, in designing and forming the state's economic and social policy. Our task is to adopt measures to improve the conditions for youth's start in life and in a career by the appropriate formation of a social policy on employment and wages and a housing policy. We will support initiatives from the socialist youth unions and social initiatives alleviating the consequences of the crisis that directly affect children and young people.

[Question] And the minister? What will his responsibilities involve?

[Answer] I will carry out the tasks arising from the decrees of the Council of Ministers. Among other things, I am supposed to cooperate with the pertinent minister in initiating activities by organs of the central administration on all matters affecting the younger generation. An entire list should be read here: education and upbringing, health, sports, tourism, recreation, culture and publishing activity. In addition, wage policy, working conditions and employment, social benefits, protection of young families, and especially a housing and credit policy, together with market supplies and rural settlements, and the protection of young people from corruption.

[Question] Isn't everything that happens in Poland within the purview of the minister and the committee?

[Answer] Obviously, since youth cannot be separated from society--it is an integral part of it, sharing in its successes and bearing the consequences of its failures.

[Question] Won't the youth organizations feel themselves to be partially released from their responsibilities?

[Answer] The committee will not formulate recommendations addressed to the youth unions—they program their own activities. It will not spread a protective cloak over them either. The committee is expected to create the conditions for implementing youth's initiatives. Among other things, these conditions include looking after the interests of the younger generation when creating legal documents. My responsibility is literally to "keep my hand on the pulse."

[Question] This pulse beats in various ways, depending on the current situation in the country, the needs of the society, etc.

[Answer] This summer I visited the Scout camps, where we talked, among other things, about the problems of education. At a meeting with the ZSMP aktiv from 207 of the largest labor establishments, we talked a great deal about the difficult situation of the younger generation, just as we did at a meeting with ZMW [Rural Youth Union] members. We have a lot of material to think about. Obviously, most of the people I spoke with emphasized social and everyday problems and stressed rights. But it is also being said that young people's awareness has to be restructured in the direction of identifying their own aims with prospects for the people and the state.

There were meetings with the principal aktiv; if this current of discussions is passed on to all youths, however, it will then be possible to speak of the authentic responsibility of the younger generation for its own fate and that of its country.

Obviously, there was no lack of bitterness and criticism directed against the local authorities at these meetings. This, however, was criticism of the malfunctioning of state structures at different levels—simply bad management. I am convinced that young people will break through the bureaucracy by force, through the most varied obstacles hindering implementation of the resolutions of the ninth plenum and the government's program for improving conditions for the younger generation's start in life. Its enthusiasm, uncompromising attitude and desire to transform our reality led me to reflect that young people want socialist Poland to be perceived by all of its citizens as their property. The people I spoke with asserted that national accord will be achieved most quickly by means of faits accomplis. The faster the government's decisions are put into effect, the greater the chances for winning the trust of the citizens will be. There are still a great many difficulties in meeting the needs of youth, at all levels of the administration. Many officials take an excessively lazy attitude toward their responsibilities, even though a major policy is materialized by resolving small everyday matters. It should be viewed through the prism of the individual citizen.

[Question] What was the first matter to come before the committee?

[Answer] It was requests for arranging withdrawals in admissions to schools. I would like, however, to talk about something else associated with the committee's activity. The government has asked the socialist youth unions to comment on the program for the socioeconomic development of the country up to

1985 and 1990. The deadline is 30 September. Such consultation, however, will have a *raison d'être* only if young people enter into the material received enough to perceive the degree to which it takes into account the resolution of their problems in life. There is also the following condition: The commentary will not take place just within the circle of a narrow aktiv; broad public opinion will be conveyed.

[Question] One hears people say that both the creation of the committee and the law on young people that is being prepared will surround the younger generation with a wall of regulations and stipulations.

[Answer] I do not think that this is the case. I have discussed the committee's tasks, and the law is just emerging. It should unite all of the younger generation's rights so that the younger generation can make use of them more fully and account for its obligations. I am far from being in favor of squeezing a person into a mold of regulations. It is a bad law if life has to be adapted to it. It has to serve development, not suppress it. The youth organizations, as the spokesmen for the interests of the entire younger generation, must be familiar with the needs of the milieu within which they are active and inform the authorities of these needs. Young people are by nature often rapacious in their demands on the authorities and on all adults. This is a trait of being young. This rapacity should be valued, since it also speeds up progress in all spheres of life. This should be constructive activity, however, and not activity attempting to destroy what we have done so far, as in the case of the participants in the latest disturbances. I have in mind here the efforts of society and the authorities to achieve national accord, restore social order and lead the country out of the crisis.

[Question] You are a former youth activist; does this help you or hinder you in your work?

[Answer] I still feel like an activist, and I want to remain one. This is the attitude that I came in with. I believe that thanks to this I will achieve more as an employee of the state administration.

I would not like people to expect immediate results and a complete solution to the problems of the younger generation, from the committee or from me personally. This requires a great deal of time and patience from both the authorities and those who impatiently await solutions.

9909

CSO: 2600/931



ZSMP OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON QUESTION OF YOUTH AUTONOMY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Aug 82 p 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, deputy chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP], by Jerzy Krasniewski: "A Prospect of Responsibility"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In general, we are aware of what grown-ups think about youth's independence. The party Central Committee's ninth plenum speeded up the flow of ideas on that subject and renewed the arguments. What do young people think of the prospect of independence? We addressed this question to Jaroslaw Klima, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Main Board and chairman of the Katowice Voivodship ZSMP.

[Answer] No possibility emerges of itself. The prospect of bearing a specific, somehow untouchable responsibility in specified areas by the young generation, by my young colleagues and contemporaries, is conditional. Not only today but always. Successive generations bore responsibility for events, if they had any influence on them at all.

[Question] But let us not avoid the statement that to a specified extent, that prospect is dependent on living conditions in a given historical period.

[Answer] Of course--on work, taking advantage of qualifications, satisfaction from what one is doing and finding a common language with older generations. We are rooted in a deep crisis today and it may last a long time. That time can be shortened and conditions changed in a way and in a direction that the younger generation, no matter how numerous, will recognize as its own. Of course, taking realities into account. But they can be taken into account only when one knows them. That is why time also plays an enormous role in this instance. Much depends on the pace with which consciousness of the need for improving our socialist reality seizes broad circles of young people. Improvements in their own interest. A small group will not accomplish much. Appropriate sociolegal mechanisms, among others, are essential for that; some favoring prospects for the bearing of responsibility were recently drawn up. The general outline of certain rights was defined in the course of the Central Committee's ninth plenum. Thus, through its representatives, youth was to have obtained the right to pass judgment on state administrative and economic proposals and decisions pertaining to youth; participate through our

representatives in legislative work; submit drafts of legal acts; and review the status of implementation of decisions on behalf of youth. If these rights become a reality sanctioned by law, they may create possibilities for influencing the course of events.

[Question] Many young people today do not know that it is intended to provide them with such possibilities.

[Answer] That is why it is necessary to discuss and to accurately define these proposals. I think that this will not be simple. The point is that some of the persons performing various official functions can also offer various objections. This is not an observation based on conjecture. I think that all of us will have to learn how to take advantage of those rights. Additional responsibilities will also fall on the authorities. Moreover, the ZSMP must create a need among its members for mastering the mechanisms of participation in those activities. That also will not be easy. It will be necessary to get rid of habits that have been stratified over the years, among which waiting for orders dominated.

The young generation experienced restrictions in action so many times that overcoming the real barriers formed then and since perpetuated will not be easy. First of all--and I want to emphasize this--it is necessary to find an answer to the question: how to act, judge, make suggestions, review, etc? Let us consider, along with that, that forming what is only a hypothesis with respect to something we have had to deal with up to now and making a decision that will have significance for hundreds of thousands, or perhaps millions, of people entails an entirely different kind of participation. It is a higher level of responsibility generally unknown to young people. It will be specific, even personal.

[Question] How many young people are aware of that kind of perspective?

[Answer] Let us put the next question: How many will acknowledge it as their own and want to stick up for specific decisions? It is necessary to get information about that perspective to members of all youth organizations and of course the largest group of all, unorganized youth. I believe that schools, colleges and social organizations need to be used for that purpose.

Theoretically, young people are always granted the right to make mistakes. In practice, the field of operation in this respect was restricted because...for lack of experience there could be mistakes for which it is not known how much would have to be paid. Thus, we participated in errors made by grown-ups--for example, that prospect of unemployment, primarily for young people, that was formulated so sharply in 1981. At that time, we hotly supported the decisions concerning earlier retirements. Today we hear of 300,000 vacant jobs. One important conclusion flows from this for us: It is necessary to set up a system for the verification of important decisions before their final adoption. This does not, of course, mean taking the right to make mistakes away from young people.

[Question] Does the lack of unsimulated activity by worker self-governments not obstruct the young in their efforts to assume responsibility?

[Answer] A self-government with the participation of a large youth representation is one of the great prospects. The Central Committee has taken a decision on this matter. But there is lack of actions in factories. For example, have self-governments been appointed in plants where Central Committee members work? asks the organization aktiv. When all is said and done, economic reform reminds one of a small table with a specified number of legs. If one is lacking...self-government is precisely such a leg. Time works against reform without self-government's participation. Complaints flow in constantly to youth organization echelons from young workers about the lack of supervision over administration activity. This is a very serious matter.

In our schools for the organization's aktiv we teach the rules and mechanisms of reform. Workers and intelligentsia as well as members of the self-government are among the auditors. There is no lack among them of active reform spokesmen. It is precisely they who say, Who knows whether good functioning of the self-government would not call into being an organizational concept of a union movement.

Although self-government has not yet unfurled its wings, it already has its obstacles. One can encounter the opinion in plant leadership groups that self-government could make management more difficult just when there are so many problems with supply.

Youth observes all of these facts attentively and analyzes opinions. Of 30 self-governments that were to have begun work in Katowice Voivodship, only 2 became active in July. It turned out that in 15 instances there had, in general, been no proposal advanced. There was no formal obstacles, thus there were other special motives. How does one fight for a chance at responsibility under such circumstances? However, established ZSMP organizations are not without fault. We observe the lack of aggressiveness even there where youth's representative has a say.

[Question] Do attitudes in factories favor aggressiveness?

[Answer] The facts that I cited bring many of our members to talk about discouragement, something that induces critical reflection. Youth interprets certain phenomena as a return to "the old system." Such opinions liberate management style in some plants, a lack of consultation on numerous social decisions. If we consider that many young people do not know the rules of economic reform, it is no wonder that they do not want to get involved.

I think that we are in a particularly dangerous period of reform initiation. The lack of raw materials may result in having the leadership cadre drift toward distribution, and we know what that means for reform.

[Question] Is the younger generation prepared to oppose an unfavorable development of events?

[Answer] It is not easy to answer that question. Many activists would like to draw their colleagues into actions that would make a younger generation battlefront out of economic reform. But social mechanisms must function for that, e.g., self-government, and authorizations, about which there was talk, are necessary. As I see it, their rapid implementation depends in large measure on the possibility of effective cooperation by young people in resolving social and economic problems.

Responsibility also rests on all youth organization elements--on how rapidly they get to their members as well as to the remaining young people who are not organized. I may imagine it, but perhaps time has never had such significance as it has in the present crisis. Let us consider how great youth's impatience will be, a youth that is aware of whom the development of events will burden if the economic situation does not undergo even a slow but systematic improvement.

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CSO: 2600/926

WARSAW PROVINCE PZPR MEETINGS NOTED

Plenum of 5 June

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Report: "Plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee—M. Wozniak, first secretary of the Warsaw Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee [KW] was held on 5 June. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, attended the meetings. Present were Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak and Marian Wozniak, Political Bureau candidate members and PZPR Central Committee secretaries. Albin Siwak, KW member and PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee member also participated in the meetings. The agenda of the deliberations included organizational matters--changes in the functions of the KW first secretary.

Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke on the subject. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stated: "Comrade Stanislaw Kociolek is resigning as KW first secretary at his own request. The reasons he presented merit full understanding in recognition of his moral and party sensitivity. I believe that a measure of appreciation of Comrade Kociolek's work and accomplishments will be the maturity and capability of the Warsaw party organization and its executive collective in effectively continuing that activity which is and should be based on the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee. The Warsaw party organization and its aktiv proved themselves under difficult circumstances, and S. Kociolek, made an important contribution to party life and especially to the class struggle during the preceding period.

In the name of the Political Bureau Central Committee, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee recommended the candidacy of Marian Wozniak for KW first secretary and also stated that this proposal was discussed at a meeting with the KW Secretariat and with first secretaries of the PZPR City Section Committees. In presenting the background of M. Wozniak, he mentioned his knowledge, experience, whole-hearted support of party ideology and adherence to principles, and also his ability to work with people, his superior culture, his modesty and his sensitivity to peoples' problems.



Wojciech Jaruzelski dedicated part of his speech to an evaluation of the current political situation in the country and in the party itself.

Z. Ducin, S. Boniecki, B. Iwinski, A. Kosowski, W. Skoczylas, S. Kociolek and M. Wozniak participated in the plenary discussions.

S. Kociolek, among others, stated: "In this dwelling, in this KW building, we defended the party line and position when various political enemies showered us with slanders. There was no revisionism here for the sake of appearances; but there was faith, a conviction about the greatness of our path over the past 37 years, a respect for this path and the conviction that we have the capability and strength to lead the country out of poverty, the party out of difficulty, and to conduct affairs in accordance with the spirit of the times."

The KW, in an open vote with three abstaining, accepted S. Kociolek's resignation as KW first secretary and member of the Executive Board, leaving him a plenum member.

Marian Wozniak was elected first secretary of the PZPR KW in an open vote with 10 negative votes cast.

M. Wozniak, in giving thanks for the confidence expressed in him by the vote for the Political Bureau position, stated that in his activities he will strive to continue and improve the work done to date by the Warsaw party organization.

#### Marian Wozniak Biographic Sketch

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 4

[Report: "Marian Wozniak's Biography"]

[Text] Marian Wozniak was born on 2 March 1936 in Dabrowica in Wolynia, in a family belonging to the intelligentsia. In 1957 he completed study at the Poznan Academy of Economics and started work on the Zielona Gora Province Commission on Economic Planning. During the 1961-1965 period, he directed the investment planning section of the Masowsze Refinery and Petrochemical Works in Plock and at the same time functioned as supernumerary secretary for economic affairs of the PZPR plant committee. Over the next 3 years, in this city, he was deputy director of the PETROBUDOWA enterprise. During the 1967-1970 period he was chairman of the Presidium of the Plock Municipal People's Council and then, till 1973, deputy chairman of the Warsaw Province People's Council. From 1973 to 1978 he worked as vice director and then director of the Local Economy Team of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers. He has been governor of Siedlce since 1979. In June 1981 he was elected first secretary of the Province Commission at the PZPR province conference in Siedlce. He held that position until 8 December 1981.

He has been a member of the Central Committee since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The First Plenum of the Central Committee selected M. Wozniak as a Central Committee secretary. In February 1982, at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, he became a candidate member of the Political Bureau

Central Committee. He is vice chairman of the commission to develop a PZPR perspective program and a member of the economic reform and economic policy commission. He has been a PZPR member for 22 years. He was awarded the OOP [District Party Organization] Cross of Chivalry and other honors.

#### Plenum on Political Activity Among Youth

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Kazimierz Zglejszewski and Pawel Bybicz: "11th Plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee--We are Waiting for Action by Youth"]

[Text] The 11th Plenary Meeting of the PZPR KW, held Monday, 28 June, was dedicated to tasks for party organizations and echelons in political work among youth in the Warsaw agglomeration. Comrade Marian Wozniak, Political Bureau candidate member, PZPR Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR KW, chaired the meeting.

Taking part in the deliberations were Comrade Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee; Comrade Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee; Comrade Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Social and Vocational Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZG ZSMP [Main Administration of the Polish Union of Socialist Youth]; Waldemar Swigron, chairman of the ZK [expansion unknown] ZMW [Rural Youth Union]; Andrzej Ornat, director of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Mieczyslaw Szostek, chairman of the Warsaw People's Council; and Mieczyslaw Debicki, mayor of Warsaw and General of Division.

Jerzy Boleslawski, secretary of the PZPR KW, read the paper leading to the discussion. Among other things, he said that preparations for the present plenum began in February of this year and included discussions as well as extensive consultations with young workers, farmers and technicians. The aim here was to have as many young people as possible speak out on matters concerning their future.

Jerzy Boleslawski emphasized that the party does not promise it will fulfill all the material postulates, and one should not expect it either after today's KW plenum deliberations or after the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The era for making promises which cannot be fulfilled has definitely passed. Working with young people, a concrete and realistic program to overcome the crisis situation must be developed. Only in this way can the party regain the wavering trust of the younger generation.

The speaker emphasized that he does not accept the thesis about a lost generation, especially now.

Young people must return to earth from the so-called internal emigration.

In the speaker's opinion, the weakness of the party's policy on the young generation lay in the ostentatiousness of actions and in the subservience accorded youth organizations. But in the current situation, even youth organ-

izations. must abandon advocating their tasks only in the abstract and take a more constructive stand regarding the problems rankling everyone and not just the younger generation.

In particular, the party program should include the following issues:

1. Education and upbringing: In addition to the very important problems associated with insuring a proper base for schooling, one must not forget to create an appropriate program of instruction to shape civic attitudes and to meet the needs of our economy. In this context, the education of a teacher cadre will play an important role;
2. Living conditions for young families: These are above all linked with the housing problem, but they also are associated with assuring suitable production of industrial and food products for children, improving health care and the struggle against social pathology;
3. Social and professional advancement: The most important thing here is to remove roadblocks to advancement; youth should not be a barrier to achieving higher positions and higher salaries.

In evaluating the youth movement and youth organizations, Jerzy Boleslawski said that the weakness of the youth movement is noticeable; however, it should be remembered that youth organizations were party allies in the struggle against antisocial forces, especially after August 1980.

A discussion followed the opening paper.

To permit more of those assembled to voice their opinions, additional deliberations proceeded in four plenary teams. The extensiveness of the discussions and the expressed, often contradictory, opinions decided the future course of the plenary session.

The speakers reacted with a large dose of criticism to the material presented; nonetheless it was the basis for the discussion. The speakers criticized the material because they saw it as resulting from a superficial analysis of the younger generation's state of consciousness. Thus it was postulated that the subject of young people be considered again on an ongoing basis so that the discussion about young people would not be single action.

The role of the party and youth unions in shaping the socialist attitudes of young people was discussed. The speakers stated that currently there is no functioning socialist model for national upbringing and education. It was acknowledged that antisocialist tendencies, resulting not so much from historical causes as from the activities of the forces of the enemies of socialism, must be resisted.

The role of the party in preparing the younger generation for life in the society was accented. It was stated that the national education process must not be based only on the schools; the home as well as youth organizations also must shape attitudes.

The problem known as "the party offer of an active life for young people" evoked the most discussion. The speakers took the position that the younger generation should not be specially singled out. It must be subject to the same laws as the older generation. Artificial preferences for the younger generation should not be permitted.

The role of the party in shaping a uniform social shield for society was acknowledged to be a basic problem. It was stated that everyone expecting help from the state can obtain it, but this aid cannot replace healthy work motivation systems. Pay for work should move consistently depend on output.

Much time in the discussions was spent on the question of the party's relations with youth organizations and the problem of the leading role of the party regarding the youth movement.

It was acknowledged that youth organizations constitute a natural base for future party cadres. Social activity can be taught there, and the outcome of this work will produce results not only in youth organization activities but also later on in party echelons. The speakers strongly emphasized the problem of ideological ties to youth organizations, the weakening of which is being exploited by political enemies.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZG ZSMP, spoke during the plenary discussion. Among other things, he said: "In listening to the discussions, I was reassured that the youth problem is not a local problem and should be examined in the aggregate on a national scale."

"We must return to the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, held in 1972. Today it is easy to speak of errors, but some thought must be given why such laudable slogans were not implemented. What kind of political conditions got in the way?"

"When the slogan 'You are the big opportunity' was bandied about, nothing at all was said about the great risks. A tremendous problem arose concerning the problem of finding jobs for over 1.8 million school graduates; new investments were needed on which credits should have been provided, and who knows if it was not actually then that we introduced the consumer credit lifestyle.

The Plenum of the PZPR KW assumed a position on young people which included the comments voiced during the discussions.

The Plenum called on the commission on resolutions and motions to develop resolutions on the following themes:

- a) The role of the party and youth unions in shaping the future;
- b) The role of the party in preparing youth for life in society;
- c) The role of the party and state institutions in shaping a uniform social policy;



- d) The party offer of an active life for young people;
- e) The participation of youth unions in growing party ranks.

Comrade Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the PZPR KW, summarized the discussions. He said that the material in the day's deliberations was very difficult; for example, there were serious differences of opinion in evaluating basic principles. The present plenary meetings do not terminate this theme; it will have to be revived at the next plenum.

He said that the frustration that overcame the younger generation because of party policy over the past 4 years had exceeded all expectations. Those young people who are indifferent should be encouraged by the group of active young people who resisted apathy and despondency to take action and make decisions. For this a dialogue is necessary. This is very difficult now, since the party is being severely attacked for previous errors.

The substance of an opening dialogue must be directions for undertaking concrete actions. There should be no more words, no more promotion of beautifully sounding resolutions which no one implements. The most important thing now is what action we will take.

The present system has not allowed young people to act in a spirit of reform; if such activities are resisted, frustrations must arise. It is actually this frustration of the younger generation that our political enemies used so effectively against us. We must show that our society can be reformed, that the present system can be and is being improved. We must remember that the vast majority of young people joining the ranks of Solidarity were not antisocially inclined.

The economic reform creates a great opportunity. It is said that workers' self-governments do not exist, but party organizations together with youth organizations can take joint action to create self-governments. It is very important to make use of youth action in reform activities.

Presently, in Warsaw, the possibility of dissolving three construction enterprises because of their bad economic results is being considered. Let us give some thought to creating new construction enterprises whose cadres would be young people; these enterprises would build housing for young people. There are already such youth cooperatives in the country and they are achieving very good results and are great competition for existing units.

In addition to workers' self-governments, encouraging young people to participate in people's councils and OKONs [Citizen's Committees of National Rebirth] is also very important. Implementing a partnership in the governing of the country must be understood literally.

In conclusion, the speaker stated that the Warsaw organization will thoroughly and with insight analyze the results of the discussions and will implement them.

The PZPR KW plenary session created the PZPR KW Working Committee and the Commission on Women and Family Affairs.

## Youth Role of Partner in Society

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by: (tg-am): "Young People in the Role of Partner--The PZPR KW Plenum"]

[Text] (Own information) On Monday, the plenum of the Warsaw party organization, under the chairmanship of Marian Wozniak, Political Bureau candidate member, Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR KW, deliberated on the youth problem. The PZPR KW meeting was preceded by careful preparations. The discussion themes were developed in consultation with young people from 30 key factories, scientific-research institutions and agricultural centers. Eighty representatives of working and studying youth were invited to participate in the plenum.

In the country's present situation, the status of young people, especially those entering adult life, is difficult and complicated. In Warsaw and the capital city province, one-half of the professionally active residents are people who are less than 35 years old. As stated at the plenum, in addition to pensioners and retirees from the so-called old file, young people are paying the highest price for the effects of the crisis. They are an economically weak group and at the same time disappointed in its hopes after the illusory social and economic policies of the 1970's. Thus, it was emphasized, that the attitudes of indifference, distrust and lack of faith in improving living conditions arose.

On the other hand, however, as ascertained at the meetings and consultations on the themes to be discussed at the plenum, young people have had enough of patronizing back-slapping, of make-believe access to authorities or to factory and state levels.

The plenum recognized three problems as exceptionally important from the viewpoint of youth: education and upbringing, living conditions of young families and working conditions. In addition, emphasis was placed on the need to improve ideological upbringing work, and to strengthen youth organizations and upbringing in the family, school and workplace as well as to include young people in the stream of socioeconomic changes dictated by the reform.

Based on the commission's recommendations, a resolution was passed to negate the KW position defining the method of using materials submitted to the participants of the plenary session as well as the comments and proposals voiced during the discussions in the four teams. The plenum also created a working commission and a commission on women and family affairs.

Albin Siwak, member of the Political Bureau Central Committee; Jan Glowczyk, Political Bureau candidate member; Mieczyslaw Debicki, General of Division and mayor of Warsaw; Doc Dr Mieczyslaw Szostek, chairman of the Warsaw People's Council and others participated in the deliberations.

## Plenum on Current Expectations of Youth

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jun 82 p 8

[Article by : (tg-am): "Plenum of the PZPR KW--Young People as Partners"]

[Text] It can be said that yesterday's plenum was atypical. Discussions on theses in four concurrently operating teams permitted most KW members and invited guests to express their opinions.

Waldemar Krolik, vice chairman of the ZSMP Factory Board of the URSUS Mechanical Works, said: "Attempts in the past to regulate the affairs of the younger generation ended, unfortunately, without visible results. Today young people, learning through experience, have no faith in paper solutions to problems rankling them. They can be convinced by concrete results; that is, certainty of work in accordance with their training, possibility of advancement, acquiring a residence and the like. We young people are not sitting with our arms folded waiting for manna to fall from heaven. Lately we investigated quite thoroughly the social and living conditions and professional situation of our colleagues at URSUS. This work will permit us to formulate a program entitled 'Prospects for Young Workers.' We formed a youth housing cooperative, but difficulties of a formal nature beset it from the beginning. The spectacular treatment of our affairs disturbs us and brings to mind an important question: "What will change after the next Central Committee plenum?"

During the deliberations, the education policy was criticized. Many higher school graduates, especially in the humanities, cannot find work, but yet there is a shortage of professionals in such specialities as lathe operators and ironworkers. It was postulated that the problem of education should be considered with special attention to observance of social justice and the need to meet youth initiatives halfway. "We do not have to live in fancy four-room apartments," stated Grzegorz Laskowski of NOWOTKO (Machinery Works). "At the start we would be satisfied with rotational housing or old housing remodeled with our own hands."

What was the most striking thing in the plenary discussion? Above all, the sincerity of the replies. There were no readings of papers, and although, at times, strong words were spoken, they were to the point. "In past years young people were promised much," stated Mieczyslaw Krzycki, economic secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the LOT Polish Air Lines [PLL]. Today, under our present living conditions, the authorities not only cannot but should not promise too much. However, there must be a convergence of aims and aspirations of the younger and older generations, and it should be demonstrated.

Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the KW, said the frustration of young people exceeds adult imaginations. "There is much to do. It will not be possible to implement the assumptions of the economic reform without the participation of that generation that is beginning its start in life. From this point of view, the participation of young workers, technicians and engineers, and ZSMP members in forming self-governments in the workplaces becomes significant."

Housing construction is an exceptionally important problem throughout the country, especially in the capital. Much attention was given to this problem in the discussions and in the summary of the first secretary of the KW. The recommendation that young people should be given a chance to form an enterprise managed by themselves was not accepted. Above all, areas designated for single-family construction should be turned over to young people.

A need exists for young residents of Warsaw and the province to join together in self-government work, as a school for civic training. The continually unappreciated truth that society should not be divided into old and young was formulated at the plenum and in judging people; class criteria and not generational criteria should be used. The recommendations announced during the deliberations will be the basis for practical action by the Warsaw party echelons and organizations.

#### Deliberations on Objectives for Youth

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 29 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by: (BS-ws): "From the Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR KW--Patient Building From the Foundations"]

[Text] Today's deliberations [29 June 1982] do not fulfill many of the hopes and postulates of young people because the country is in a difficult period. "We do not want to make errors and promises paid for with bad checks. We want young people to understand the conditions under which we are living. How quickly the country recovers from the crisis depends on everyone, including young people." These are the words stated by Jerzy Boleslawski, KW secretary, at the opening of the plenary meeting of the PZPR KW on 28 June.

The deliberations were chaired by Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee and first secretary of the KW. Among others, Albin Siwak, member of the Political Bureau Central Committee; Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Political Bureau Central Committee; representatives of Warsaw and national authorities; administrators of Warsaw youth organizations; and Sejm delegates participated in the deliberations.

It was not a typical party plenum on young people. The deliberations were dedicated to the problems of youth by youth and with their participation. A 60-member group of young people from various Warsaw and provincial centers were invited to the meeting which was preceded by numerous consultations at work-places.

Discussions were conducted simultaneously in four working teams. What was discussed? Above all the need to overcome the moral and ideological crisis of young people; their often unjustified frustrations and their unwillingness to participate in all activities; and the current fashion of negating everyone and everything.

"How can these people be roused from their apathy? It is necessary to present tasks to them clearly and to give an opportunity for their implementation,"



stated one of the speakers. "There is a danger that the authorities, regardless of level, will make promises to the young people, something which should not be done under current conditions."

"A concrete plan of action should be presented," stated Wladyslaw Serafin, a farmer from the Gora Kalwaria gmina. "Sincerity and honesty in dealing with young people with guarantee the party success."

"The problems of young people cannot be an occasional affair, from action to action," stated one of the speakers. "Youth should not be treated as subservient, but as an equal partner," stated another. "Young people have initiative but they want to know precisely if their efforts will be naught," stated an URSUS representative.

The resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee of 1972, which was dedicated to youth affairs, were included in the discussions.

Young people believe that it is necessary to settle accounts with the party in order to implement these resolutions.

There was no lack of discussion on social and living problems. The advisability of credits for young married couples, for housing construction, professional starts and opportunities for advancement were considered. Upbringing in the family and school was discussed. Much time was dedicated to the possibility of youth participation in territorial self-government.

Concrete solutions for difficult questions were discussed, argued but also exchanged. For example: how young people can prepare housing construction sites through their own efforts and start construction, how to enliven declining rural clubs, how to hasten the preparation of rotational housing.

"Today we must present youth a model of behavior which will [not] appear unattractive [sic] to them--the patient construction of our society from the foundations--and we must convince youth to accept this model," stated, among others, Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the KW, at the end of the session.

The participants in the deliberations admitted that the meeting did not exhaust all the problems associated with youth. Thus it was resolved not to pass a resolution. The KW Executive Board was authorized to work up a complete draft, and the text will be discussed with youth organizations.

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'SZTANDAR LUDU' REPORTS LUBLIN PZPR DEVELOPMENTS

Current Most Important Matters

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by (leg.): "From the Deliberations of PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Boards--In Lublin, the Most Important Party Matters"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) The agenda of yesterday's [2 June 1982] deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin included three subjects, which unquestionably belong to the group of the most important issues: an assessment of party activities to develop and accelerate industrial production serving the needs of farming and the food economy; the implementation of proposals of the Seventh PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum concerning acting upon the complaints and grievances of the populace and, finally, the summarization of the course of the discussion in Lublin Voivodship over the draft PZPR ideological-program declaration "What we are struggling for, where we are aiming."

The executive board ranked highly the issues taken up in Lublin plants of expanding the production of farm machinery, tools and equipment, which arose out of the initiative of plant party organizations and the Sociocultural and Socioeconomic Departments of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee]. The board saw them as proof of the consistent and realistic fulfillment of tasks emanating from the program for feeding the nation prepared by the central authorities. Of course, the production results thus far are only the beginning of the entire endeavor and they have had their shortcomings and mistakes. Nonetheless, the major directions of activity are absolutely correct and necessary. We shall treat this subject in greater depth in separate articles.

The information submitted to the executive board concerning the settling of complaints and grievances was likewise recognized to be an issue of great importance. The party's attitude to citizens' complaints and grievances, their solicitous examination and sincere resolution should be one of the chief tasks of the voivodship committee and other echelons of party members on all positions, said Wladyslaw Kruk, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The inspection-awareness campaign undertaken on this matter after the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum was also discussed. Some echelons that have

contact with citizens and resolve matters for them are still heartless and indifferent to human issues. There must be a different atmosphere with regard to the petitioner. Party members must be reprimanded especially severely for this. The attitude and commitment of an official, a representative of any sort of institution affects the attitude of the citizen to the people's authorities and to our entire reality.

The problem of the reaction of the various institutions and organizational units to press criticism was also broached during the deliberations. The Executive Board ordered party echelons and organizations to cooperate closely with organs of the press, radio and television, both to react effectively to criticism and to present public opinion with a way of acting upon the recommendations, requests and complaints of citizens.

The executive boards of institutional organizations that are broadly concerned with complaints and grievances are obliged to evaluate this activity and to make certain that party members are implementing these important obligations.

Given the many complaints and criticisms of ZUS [Social Security Agency] actions, the executive board has ordered comrades from the Voivodship Administration Office and the PZPR Municipal Committee in Lublin to take steps to immediately streamline the work of this institution.

Discussion on the draft PZPR ideological program declaration, "What we are struggling for, where we are aiming," revealed that this was a broad campaign in which an overwhelming majority of fundamental organizations participated. Many remarks, assessments and recommendations were made during this campaign.

The main assumptions of the declaration were approved. However there was much criticism of the style and language of this document, as well as of the preparation of particular sections. It was ascertained at the executive board meeting that such a range of opinions, often controversial, attests to the vitality of party life and the development of the independent thought of party members. This, together with the attempt to assess and define the role of the party, is certainly a positive factor. A comprehensive document containing the most critical proposals and recommendations will be submitted to the central party authorities to serve as a basis for further work on the draft declaration.

#### Interview of PZPR Secretary Przybylski

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Witold Przybylski, secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin by J. Kuznicki: "We Alone Can Do This Work"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Let us begin with a reflection of a personal nature. Soon a year will have passed since the party reporting-electoral campaign in which you were elected, first the PZPR first secretary of the Plant Committee [KZ] at the Swidnik WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], and later secretary

of the KW [Voivodship Committee]. After nearly a year, how do you assess this campaign and the personnel changes made at that time?

[Answer] Although it was a very stormy campaign, I must strongly emphasize that it was totally democratic. Due to the extremely complex situation within the country and within the party itself, party functions were not greeted enthusiastically. I agreed to be a candidate for first secretary at the Swidnik WSK after my comrades convinced me that the situation in the plant party organization demanded this. I simply had a duty to the party.

I admit that I was very shocked to be elected KW secretary. It was not easy for me to decide whether to be a candidate, since I had many difficult moments in the interim, while I was working on the KZ.

It is difficult for me to discuss all of the changes in particular echelons, for each of these matters should be treated individually. For example, the previous voivodship authorities in Lublin included many comrades who had extensive professional and public experience. Generally I believe that after such a shock as the party underwent after August 1980, the changes were justified, since new people adapt more easily to changed circumstances and to new requirements and needs in party work. This is not to say that such sweeping, sudden changes bring only benefits. In my own experience it has honestly been the case that such "operations" have their consequences. One needs time to gain experience, to learn about the fairly complex problems of the voivodship and to come to know the people.

[Question] Comrade, you mentioned the new requirements in party work.

[Answer] I had in mind a change in the style of work, a decisive, irreversible departure from the system of petty interference into the activity of enterprises, offices and institutions which was associated with the directive, command-distributive system of economic management. Now, when enterprises and institutions are attaining full autonomy, and objective needs and economic conditions will determine their activity, other methods of having an impact on the administration and economic units are indispensable.

The voivodship party echelon has an impact on their activity mainly through plant party organizations. Hence the need for more frequent and systematic contact with these organizations and with the work forces of plants, offering help to resolve conflicts. It is not enough to be right in this work; it is equally important to be able to prove that we are right, to convince the work force of this.

[Question] How do you do this in the KW economic department?

[Answer] The new title itself (Socioeconomic Department) suggests that the purpose of our work in the economic field is to attain social goals. We are trying to inspire plants, to stimulate party organizations, to ponder in common with them what to do to create a climate fostering more efficient work and the reconciliation of work force interests with those of society as a whole.



We attach much importance to the share of the party aktiv in the work of commissions and teams working with social, economic and technical-organizational issues.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the most pressing problems with which the voivodship administration must deal?

[Answer] One of the most important is market supply. We often act as spokesmen for the voivodship residents, submitting their opinions and needs to institutions at the central and voivodship levels. Housing construction is another crucial problem. At the end of 1981, there were 23,000 people registered in housing cooperatives in the voivodship and more than 30,000 candidates waiting for membership. A comparison of these needs with the real potential of construction does not engender optimism. But we are taking action to ameliorate this difficult situation, at least in part. There will be changes this year in housing policy; people's council buildings and plants will be modernized. Cooperatives will have more apartments for their members.

In spite of financial limitations, the preliminary draft for 1981-1985 envisages a definite increase in housing construction compared with the past 5-year period.

Delays in the construction community services (stores, nurseries, preschools and schools), which have grown due to temporary solutions, are a very serious problem. The most severe backlog is found in the new communities in Lublin--in the Czechy and Czuba city quarters and in Swidnik, Pulawy and Leczna. As the new housing opens up, the thermal energy shortage is becoming more severe in Lublin, Swidnik, Pulawy and Krasnik. This necessitates increasing our energy capabilities. The most urgent task in this field is the construction of the third stage of an electric power- and heat-generating plant in the Lublin quarter of Wrotki. The preparation of a plan of city and gmina territorial management and the designation of lands for housing construction are also urgent matters.

There are many pressing needs in municipal management. The improvement of city water supply, the expansion of waste treatment plants and the streamlining of transportation are all indispensable. The rapid development of municipal and gmina centers and the natural deterioration of building create tremendous needs in the area of the construction, expansion and repair of educational-upbringing and cultural institutions.

I should like to emphasize that the Ninth PZPR Congress outlined the directions of national activities in these fields. With regard to our voivodship, they were specified in a resolution of the voivodship programming-electoral conference. The task of all party members and all people of goodwill is the exemplary implementation of these programs of activity. We alone can do this work.

[Question] Recently, at the PZPR KW plenum, there was a preliminary analysis of the functioning of voivodship management under reform conditions. Party tasks were likewise defined at this plenum.

[Answer] We can talk about reform in another interview. Here let me merely comment briefly about the level of preparation of enterprises for initiating reform. Generally speaking, the leadership cadre is best prepared in large enterprises. Those enterprises that worked within the WOG [large economic organizations] system are best prepared.

Work cooperatives, which have been operating under the new system since mid-1982 with fairly good results, are likewise well prepared. This is shown by the increase in the sale of the products of small-scale production, which took over 10 percent of the market over a 4-month period this year, while employing less than 4.6 percent of the work force.

The new principles of management force enterprises to pay closer attention to financial questions. They are likewise more cautious regarding investment endeavors, more realistic in planning wage increases. Moreover, plants are hit harder by such negative phenomena as stock surpluses and the incomplete usage of fixed assets. These are signs of the positive operation of reform, leading to more rational management.

However, there are also weaknesses in the new economic system. Familiarity with its principles is essentially limited to the level of enterprise management. The vast majority of workers and even of mid-level of enterprise see no clear link between the activity of the new management system and their earnings. Plants do not have a system of tying in the amount of earnings with production quality, with a reduction in material consumption and with the better use of work time.

The compensations for the increase in the cost of living and the often formal regulations concerning the payment of various wage bonuses and premiums also cloud this picture. Moreover, reform problems are sometimes viewed from the aspect of enterprise interests, without consideration of the relations of society as a whole. This is evident in the critical attitude to the prices of foreign products and the lack of this attitude to our own prices.

Thus, the process of ordering our economy will take place in proportion to the inculcation of reform principles, not theoretically, but in daily management decisions. This will determine how much and how quickly we change our thinking, a mentality that has been formed over decades, that the authorities are responsible for everything, that while we do want independence, we do not want responsibility.

[Question] What must be done to change this mentality and these habits?

[Answer] We need universal economic education to familiarize all employees with the principles of enterprise operation under reform conditions. We must concretize and synchronize the training programs conducted by enterprises themselves and by various associations such as PTE [Polish Economic Society], TNOiK [Scientific Society of Organization and Administration], the Association of Accountants and NOT [Chief Technical Organization]. We can successfully reduce the number of theoretical training programs, substituting specialized counseling and the practical utilization of reform mechanisms.

Supervisory units have an important role in specialized training in the area of interpreting regulations, in force.

These institutions have the task of protecting the observance of the law and society's interests. However, they must also change their methods of operation so that the management of economic units will not be afraid to take calculated risks in decisionmaking, thus curbing socially desirable initiatives.

The updating of programs for improving management prepared last year by reform teams is likewise an important issue. Management conditions have changed considerably; the situation is different in supply, in import and on the labor market; the taxation system has changed; stiffer credit principles have been introduced.

In their work on the above-noted programs, reform teams should consider the proposals of the circles of scientific-technical and economic associations, teams for production and price affairs, plant social commissions, social consultative commissions and the like.

It is essential that enterprises prepare their own incentives systems for guaranteeing just wages and the abandonment of the often practiced, socially unjust principle of equality for all despite the quality of one's work.

Autonomy is one of the three basic principles of the reform. It is impossible to fully implement the new economic system unless the workers' self-government really acts. One cannot speak of work force coresponsibility for production results unless it really takes part in making decisions about the economic policy of the enterprise. Thus, plant party organizations in conjunction with administrative management and enterprise consultative commissions must help to foster the revitalization of self-governing bodies.

A broad field of action on all issues is opening up for party organizations. They should inspire and assist management and employee collectives to act to improve the operation of the enterprise. In creating a climate for inculcating reform, party organizations are likewise obliged to oppose all actions that are contrary to societywide interests and violate the standards of societal coexistence. They must also supervise cadre policy.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we are living with the problems of initiating reform literally every day in party echelons. It is our only chance for quickly getting out of the crisis, for keeping the "belt-tightening" period to a minimum.

#### Lublin Labor Market Situation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by (sna): "From the Deliberations of PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Boards--in Lublin, Situation on the Labor Market"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) Yesterday [16 June 1982], the Executive Board of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] examined the current situation in the

voivodship in the area of employment, giving special attention to the situation of postelementary school graduates.

Last year, approximately 12,000 people in Lublin Voivodship took early retirement, significantly reducing the level of employment. Restricted employment in some economic units has not created a surplus in manpower. On the contrary, for 2 months a shortage of manpower has been noted, especially in blue-collar jobs.

Currently on the labor market there are many more jobs than people to fill them. At the end of May 1982, there were 6,752 announced in all, while the recorded number of people looking for jobs was less than 582.

The abundance of job openings in the voivodship does not mean that one has no trouble finding a job. Difficulties do exist, mainly in such specializations as philosophy, psychology, foreign language studies, biology, veterinary medicine, agriculture, horticulture and law.

This year, Lublin higher schools are to graduate approximately 3,300 persons, while the total number of secondary school graduates will be nearly 8,000. The openings announced by plants show that only graduates of basic vocational schools may be assured of full job security. While the number of openings for this year's UMCS [Maria Curie-Skłodowska University] graduates exceeds their number, there are wide disparities in the structure of needs and training. There is a shortage of positions for students of law, administration, economics, chemistry, physics, biology and foreign language studies. On the other hand, there is a surplus of positions (1,259 jobs) for graduates in the area of teaching. Full job security is lacking in essentially all directions and specializations for graduates of the Agricultural Academy and Lublin Technical University.

The executive board recognized that job security for the year's graduates of all types of schools and educational institutions is one of the most important and most pressing problems to be solved. Specific activities have been undertaken in this area. The Lublin governor has approached 400 plants with the order that white-collar positions that are empty due to retirement and child-care leaves be saved for this year's higher school graduates. This request will be implemented consistently. Moreover, the administrative heads of cities and gminas have been ordered to inspect plant cadres. The positions yielded in this way should be filled by graduates.

Another subject of executive board deliberations was a report concerning the activities of Citizen's Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]. At present, there are 148 such committees in Lublin Voivodship, joining together nearly 3,500 persons representing all milieus and professional groups. It was recognized as purposeful and necessary that new OKON initiatives in the name of maintaining national accord be supported and inspired.



## Plenum on Declaration

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (KUZ): "Deliberations of the PZPR KW Plenum in Lublin--An Assessment of the Implementation of the Seventh KC [Central Committee] Plenum and of Discussion of the Ideological-programming Draft Declaration; Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo First Secretary of the KW"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) Yesterday, 23 June 1982, a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] was held to analyze the implementation of a resolution of the seventh Central Committee Plenum and to assess the course of discussion over the ideological-programming declaration. The agenda of the meeting, in which Political Bureau member, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, and the director of the PZPR Central Committee Cadre Department, Tadeusz Dziekan, took part, likewise included organizational matters--a change in the position of PZPP KW first secretary in Lublin. In accordance with a KW executive board recommendation, the members of the plenum complied with the request of the former KW first secretary, Wladyslaw Kruk, to be relieved of this function. In secret ballot, they entrusted it to the well-known Lublin party and social activist, UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University] rector for many years, Prof Dr Habilitatus Wieslaw Skrzydlo, who was unanimously coopted earlier into the KW.

A detailed report follows:

After the agenda of the deliberations was approved, Comrade Wladyslaw Kruk took the floor. He opened by saying that he was brought up in the Lublin party organization, a party member of 30 years' standing, associated with it by choice. For 21 years, he was employed in various party echelons; for 5 years, during a very difficult period, he acted as first secretary of the PZPR KW.

Alluding to recent years and months he said: "During this period we succeeded in adhering to principles in our voivodship. We spoke up many times, clearly and decisively in favor of understanding and renewal and opposed to demagoguery and anarchy--against party breakdown."

Further on in his address he stated that in his opinion the time had come for making a change in the position of first secretary of the voivodship echelon. A difficult, constant struggle still awaits us.

Comrade Wladyslaw Kruk continued: "New forces and an unfettered outlook, on our current situation are needed. This is why, motivated by concern for our voivodship party organization, as I have been for many years, I ask for your

understanding of my motives, comrades, and that you release me from my function as first secretary and executive board member.

"Over the course of many years' difficult work in the party apparatus, as I fulfilled many functions, I was always energized in my direct contact with working people, farmers, the activists of our party and political parties and nonparty members. However, I value especially highly the kindhearted assistance I have received from the members of the voivodship echelon, from the secretaries of local echelons, the aktiv and the party apparatus and, during the past year, from you, comrades.

"Together we have passed through extremely difficult and complex times, probably the most difficult in the life of our party. Although our actions were not free of error and defeat, although there were losses, we led our voivodship party organization through this extremely difficult period. And although the material that has been submitted here shows that we still have much to do to implement the course of socialist renewal, to regain the trust of the working class and of the entire society, those irreversible reforms that our party has already executed enable me today to say that we have moved forward; we must maintain and expand this movement and the direction of our march.

"Comrades, for your help and goodwill, for your words of criticism that are so indispensable in our party work, and for your help, I thank the entire party aktiv, organization and party members from the bottom of my heart.

"We gave very serious consideration in the KW executive board to a candidate for the future administrative head of the voivodship organization.

"There are many comrades among us here who are equal to these obligations. However, we continue to operate under very complex conditions. Thus, we were looking for someone with much experience, profound knowledge and the skill to unify the people around himself.

"We are grateful to the Central Committee Political Bureau for accepting our proposed candidate, Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo. During the consultative meetings of the KW members and candidate members, comrades, you too indicated that you were in favor of this candidate.

"I have known Comrade Skrzydlo for 29 years from party, societal and professional activities. The depth of his political knowledge, his organizational abilities, unassuming nature and the ease of contact he maintains with people of different milieus have gained him genuine recognition and real authority in many social circles.

"I firmly believe that the selection of Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo as KW secretary will increase the authority of our echelon, will help us to sum up our positive achievements and discover our weaknesses; in a word, it will help us to better prepare for the difficult tasks that await our organization."

Next PZPR KW Secretary Tadeusz Borszynski, who took over the meeting, asked the plenum members to vote on the first motion of Comrade Wlasylaw Kruk to release him from his function as KW first secretary. He noted that his request was accepted by the KW executive board after thorough analysis of his reasons for stepping down. The KW members approved the request and the executive board motion in open ballot, with three members abstaining.

A delegation of KW members, the social political aktiv and the employees of the party apparatus led by first secretary of the PZPR KM [Municipal Committee] in Pulawy, Stanislaw Jedrych, thanked Wlasylaw Kruk sincerely for his sacrificial work and leadership of voivodship echelon activity during a most difficult period for the party, presenting him with a bouquet of flowers and extending best wishes for fruitful work in his new responsible position and in his personal life.

Next Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor. Alluding to many years of friendship and personal contact of nearly 30-years' standing with Comrade Wladyslaw Kruk, including the period of his functioning as candidate member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Barcikowski, for himself and for the central party authorities, expressed his regard and recognition and offered sincere thanks for Comrade Kruk's partymindedness and sacrificial work for the party at all times. Comrade K. Barcikowski said: "The Political Bureau understands the motives behind the decision of Wladyslaw Kruk and desires to recommend him for responsible work in the foreign service."

Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski likewise explained the motives behind the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau's acceptance of the recommendation of the executive board that Wieslaw Skrzydlo fulfill the function of first secretary. He stated that his knowledge, his wealth of experience in party and societal work and his familiarity with the voivodship enable him to lead the Lublin party organization properly.

In open ballot, the plenum unanimously chose Wieslaw Skrzydlo KW member. Then, in secret ballot (85 votes out of 90 people voting), he was chosen first secretary of the PZPR KW. The newly elected secretary was then wished success in his work.

The next item of deliberation was the discussion of the materials submitted earlier to the plenum members by the executive board and the KQ secretariat concerning the implementation of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum resolution and the discussion of the ideological-programming draft declaration in the voivodship party organization. Elzbieta Buczek, chairlady of the Motions and Complaints of the Populace Commission, reported on the situation in the area of resolving issues that are brought up by voivodship residents and are submitted to party echelons.

Other speakers, including Andrzej Mecinski, first secretary of the PZPR KM in Lublin and Stanislaw Staniszewski, director of the CENTRUM Department Stores, spoke of the activities and directions of efforts aimed at stabilizing life in particular milieus and at strengthening and consolidating the party,

rebuilding its authority and its ties with society. They spoke of the results of interviews and evaluations of the activism and attitudes of party members, of the improvement in intraparty information dissemination and of the activity of social and consultative commissions in plants. They also discussed the opinions of work forces on the subject of the future activity of trade unions. They evaluated the achievements of OKON and the efforts of the party and other organizations in building a front of social understanding and national accord.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Political Bureau member, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, discussed the notions and opinions presented in the discussion. He said that the central party authorities plan to present a final version of the ideological-programming declaration before the observance of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, i.e., in September 1982. Due to the tremendous number of suggestions, this document must be reedited.

In speaking of the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, he stated that many have already been executed or are now being implemented.

He likewise emphasized the importance of the creation of conditions for real activity by workers self-governments for the implementation of economic reform, and especially to gain society's understanding and approval of its assumptions in plants.

The PZPR Central Committee secretary stated: "The Political Bureau likewise attaches tremendous importance to the development of OKON activity. We are considering various ideas in this field, such as the uniting of this real civic movement with the FJN [National Unity Front], so that in the future it can also assume the constitutional functions that the FJN committees now exercise.

"Thus, we must make every effort to unite all members of OKON elements who are not opposed to socialism, so that they can operate more and more effectively. To this end, new structures, citywide and voivodship elements of OKON are arising."

The KW plenum passed a resolution binding party echelons and organizations to step up their efforts to strengthen the party rank and file, their ideological, political and organizational cohesiveness and to increase their political impact upon particular social groups.

At the conclusion of deliberations, Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo took the floor.

He said: "In accordance with your wishes, in taking on the function of first secretary of the PZPR KW in Lublin, I am aware that I have been given a tremendous credit balance of trust which I can repay only by sacrificial work and by dedication in the implementation of our common proposals. I thank you for this trust and I count on the help of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau, on the kindhearted cooperation of the members of the voivodship party echelon and on the assistance and inspiration of all party



members. History tells us that the unquestionable successes our party has had as it aims to build a Poland of justice, such successes as agricultural reform, rebuilding the country following the destruction of war, the expansion of industrial potential, the development of the school system and the like have always been associated with the party's proper fulfillment of its leadership role; they have always been linked by this bond and by its skill in serving working people, the entire society. Today we want to rebuild this bond, society's trust in the party; we can and we must rebuild it, for only in this way can we fulfill society's expectations and aspirations. It is to this end that I wish to serve together with the entire party, with which I have been associated for 30 years. It is to the implementation of this goal that I shall devote my powers and my abilities."

#### Biographic Sketch of Skrzydło

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] Comrade Wiesław Skrzydło, professor, doctor habilitatus, long-time former rector of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University [UMCS] in Lublin; long-time party and social activist, is a figure well-known in Lublin circles; his life and societal activity are closely connected with our region. Thus, we shall remind our readers only of some basic information from his biography.

He was born 11 April 1929 in Rokitno near Wołyń, and 2 years later was brought by his parents to the Lublin area. He completed elementary school in 1942 and then worked in the Agricultural-Trade Cooperative in Zaokwiecie. He finished secondary school at the Zamoyski High School and the Staszic Lyceum in Lublin, and from 1949 to 1952, he was enrolled in the first level of studies in the Law Faculty at UMCS. He received his master's degree in law in 1953 at Warsaw University.

In 1951, he began his work at UMCS, where he was successively: a candidate assistant, an assistant, senior assistant, aspirant, adjunct, docent and professor. From 1964-1965 he was the pro-dean of the UMCS Law Faculty, and from 1965 to 1972 he served as UMCS pro-rector; from 1972 to 1981, he was UMCS rector. He made an intense personal effort to develop UMCS. Recently, he chaired the UMCS Department of Constitutional Law. He is the author of many scientific works in the area of the political system of socialist states, and especially People's Poland, for which he was distinguished many times, including three first-class awards from the minister of science, technology and higher schooling.

From his early years, he has had a lively interest in social activism. In 1950, he joined the Polish Youth Union, and since 1951 (for 31 years) he has been a member of the PZPR. He has served in many party capacities, including first secretary of the OOP [Departmental Party Organization] and member of the PZPR College Committee [KU]. From 1969 to 1981, Comrade Wiesław Skrzydło was a member of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board in Lublin. He participated in three successive party congresses--the sixth, seventh and eighth--as a delegate of the voivodship party organization.

From 1975 to 1980 he was a member of the Central Party Control Commission.

He has received a number of state and social distinctions for his activity, including: Order of the Banner of Labor First-Class, Officer's Cross of the Order of the Polish Rebirth and the title Teacher of Merit of the PRL [Polish People's Republic].

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CONTINUED PRESS COVERAGE OF NEW SCHOOL YEAR NOTED

Deputy Education Minister Interviewed

Warsaw RZECZYPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Aug 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Jerzy Wojciechowski, deputy education minister, by Hanna Sadowska: "New School Year--Plans And Expectations"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We have behind us one of the most difficult school years in the history of postwar education, and now we stand on the threshold of a new school year. Will we begin it with hope, or with old problems?

[Answer] The coming year will not be easy, since there have been no radical changes in the school system situation. Recently the situation was examined by the Council of Ministers which analyzed the state of preparation for the new year.

[Question] The information presented at the Council of Ministers by the Ministry of Education shows that 278 new educational facilities and over 1,250 apartments for teachers will be added. Will the investments have no impact whatsoever on the material aspect of education?

[Answer] There would have been a noticeable improvement in school working conditions, if not for the baby boom now entering the first grade of primary school. Beginning with 1 September the number of our charges will increase by 165,000, and the school system base which constantly suffers from a lack of manufacturing means and powers, is insufficient. Material needs which, despite the government efforts, are never fully satisfied, result in a negative public image of the educational system, especially in rural areas.

[Question] Then what should rural students do, wait for better times when conditions for their start in life will be equal to those of their peers in the city?

[Answer] An equal start is affected by many factors, school being one of the most important of them, of course. This is why we make many efforts to upgrade the level of school work in villages and small towns. Thus, we have not given up on opening and strengthening consolidated gmina schools, but we are also reopening branch schools. Last year we reopened 400 branch

schools, and this year 190 such schools will start to function. Educational conditions will improve for the youngest students as a result. Students will not have to commute and, in addition, a number of children learning in combined grades will decrease from 290,000 last year to 177,000.

[Question] But these numbers show a cause for concern, since they mean that almost 200,000 children learn under conditions which do not insure that knowledge is acquired properly. The cadre situation does not guarantee it either. Too many teachers with inadequate credentials will be teaching this year, especially in rural areas.

[Answer] Last year 432,000 teachers worked for the school system. Out of those 22,300 were not fully qualified. Similarly, this year we are forced to employ a number of such teachers. Right now it is difficult to say what the number will be, since we are still accepting requests from persons who do not meet all the requirements. This is a necessity. But let us not forget that the teachers continue to complete their education from the first day on the job. We have created a wide range of opportunities in this area. Yesterday's beginners are often adequate educators today, and they can further their education even more by taking courses part time. Of course, it would be better to employ teachers who had studied at educational faculties, but, first of all, universities do not train a sufficient number of teachers, and secondly, university graduates are not too anxious to seek employment in rural areas, where they are most needed.

[Question] What are the solutions to this problem, according to the ministry?

[Answer] The Council of Ministers instructed the minister of education to develop a training program for teaching cadre for the period up to 1990, taking under consideration the anticipated needs in this area. The program will be developed in cooperation with the minister of science, higher education, and technology and with other ministries in charge of higher education. Of course, it will take some time before the results are felt.

It is expected that the Teachers Charter and, in particular, the executory acts pertaining to such matters as teachers' wages will significantly help teachers practice this difficult profession and further their training. The executory acts determine the rate of wages and appropriate resources for the wage fund.

This means that we now enter the next stage in bringing teachers' wages up to the level of average wages for engineering-technical cadre which, according to the charter provisions should be accomplished by 1 September 1983. This shows that the statute--the Teachers Charter and resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, are consistently implemented.

Also, raises in wages will not be routine any more, the same for all teachers, but their amount will depend on many factors, including the number and kind of extracurricular activities and job performance.



Furthermore, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution concerning the basis for granting teachers time off for continuing education (so this will not be arbitrary any more), reducing prices for railroad tickets and providing bank loans for teachers working in rural areas. The Council of Ministers put the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection under special obligation to see to the needs of rural teachers concerning the apartment construction program which is currently being prepared and should be completed by the end of November of this year. As you see, we have moved from the phase of postulates and entered the phase of specific actions.

[Question] There is a fear, however, that the Teachers Charter, while giving more to teachers, will also increase demands on them.

[Answer] That is right. After all, if we want to accomplish educational and didactic goals required of a contemporary school, we have to rely on teachers who are intelligent, educated and dedicated. We do not hide our desire to see enlightened people with high moral standards among our educational cadre, because we need more than ever to work with youths, not only during school hours and not only concerning subjects required by the curriculum. Last year numerous shortcomings concerning the upbringing of students were revealed. This year has to be different.

The ministry worked out an educational program which we want to introduce to the school administrations starting on 1 September. We hope that within teaching teams efforts will increase to recapture mutual trust and a desire to work together to cultivate in students moral norms and principles and to affirm socialistic ideals.

#### Education Minister Interviewed

Warsaw RZECZYPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Boleslaw Faron, minister of education, by Hanna Sadowska: "On the Threshold of the New School Year"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Every year at this time all attention is focused on school. We invariably want schools to impart more knowledge to students and more satisfaction to educators. What should we wish for Polish school this time?

[Answer] Tranquillity. This comes first. We need tranquillity not only in the general sense of this word. There was a period of great unrest around educational reform which then subsided. As a result the Polish educational system is a little disheveled and it deserves a quite time.

However, this does not mean a stagnation which could be a step back. Changes can be introduced after their merits and material aspects are well thought out. They should be introduced gradually. We pay too big a price for rash experiments performed on a system as sensitive as the school system. Let us not involve youths in unlawful acts and illegal structures this school year. They are tired of all this, their nerves are worn out. They also need a period of tranquillity.

My second wish is for schools to acquire discipline. This should be broadly understood, it should not be only formal discipline. We need a kind of discipline which becomes a basis for a rhythmical functioning of the school. A school is a living organism and it requires an especially good work organization as a foundation for proper functioning. This is because this organism gathers such great physical, intellectual, and emotional energy that any lack of discipline results in a decrease in work quality.

Another slogan which I would like to introduce and emphasize this year is that of doing a good job. In the ministry, we have undertaken a number of actions which should result in better quality of school work. Let me remind you about new regulations for passing students introduced last year, which do away with makeup examinations. Last June we returned to the idea of giving entrance examinations to postprimary schools, a procedure which was abandoned for years.

The preliminary analysis shows that the examinations brought discipline to the work of students in the eighth grade and they validated grades for students graduating from primary schools. In spite of those who were against the examinations, the changes did not close the way to postprimary schools for anybody. As you know, there are more places in the beginning grades of postprimary schools than there are graduates from the eighth grade of primary schools.

According to the Ministry of Education directive pertaining to quality education, new regulations on high school diplomas are introduced. They include a ban on the use of encyclopedias and other dictionaries during written examinations. After all, the candidate for a high school diploma does not write a dissertation but is simply required to show intellectual dexterity. When the regulations are ratified by the Council of Ministers, they will also enable main tasks and directions concerning the upbringing of children and youths, developed by the ministry, to function in school.

Tranquillity, discipline, better quality of work at school--these are my wishes for the new school year. The total fulfillment of the wishes will not be easy, especially as they are confronted with the insufficient number of schools in new communities and the lack of fully qualified teachers, particularly in rural areas. Programs are thwarted by the lack of apartments for rural teachers and of kindergarten facilities. We had to turn away 85,000 children.

It is also difficult to supply students with school materials, clothes and shoes. Although these matters are not, strictly speaking, concerns of our ministry, we cannot, I, personally, cannot be indifferent to them. After all, those matters affect the quality of school work. That is why my wish is for these problems to find more support in other ministries, as well as public support.

### Some Facts, Figures

Warsaw RZECZYPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ewa): "The New School Year"]

[Text] September 1 a new school year begins for 7.9 million students. A total of 4.5 million children will enter primary schools and 2.1 million youth will enter postprimary schools.

This year new educational buildings will open: 61 schools, 103 kindergartens, and 44 other educational facilities. A total of 63 schools and 173 branch schools will be reactivated, mainly in rural areas, according to the wishes of the communities.

Of course, these will not be all of this year's investments. The construction of 212 schools and 164 kindergartens continues, and, according to plans, additional educational buildings will be constructed before the end of the year. This, however, will not balance out the increase in the number of students, since in primary schools alone the number of students will increase by 160,000.

Problems with educational cadre have become proverbial. This school year 450,000 fully qualified teachers should start work. Unfortunately, many unqualified persons, unprepared to work in this profession, will also find their way into the school system.

A total fulfillment of all the needs will have to wait. But even today the educational administration tries to work things out. For example, this September, 42 posthigh school training centers for primary school and kindergarten teachers will open, since this specialty is in the highest demand.

At present, some students may not yet have a full set of school books in their bags. The books will get to them most probably no later than the end of September. Altogether, there will be 29 million copies, i.e., 17 percent more than last year (the remaining 3 million copies are not needed in schools until the second semester). The number of titles will also increase by more than 27 percent. This year for the first time children attending the first grade and 6-year-old kindergarten children will receive a full set of books to keep for free. Second- and fifth-grade students will receive free school books for the duration of the school year. This will be a significant financial help for parents.

Coupons for school notebooks and other school materials are also introduced this year for the first time and have met with public approval. The coupons guarantee that no student will come to school with an empty school bag.

For many students a new school year will be the year for novelties. Students attending the last high school grade already know that this May their graduation examination will be different. Eighth-grade students should remember that, beginning with September, regulations concerning high school admissions will be changed.

Vocational school students will go to school 3 years longer and they will have learned a trade upon graduation. They are also getting a new subject, i.e., history.

In postprimary schools, teaching programs for Polish, history, social science, and propaedeutic have changed. Completely new programs are introduced in the fifth grade in primary schools.

Rights of educational councils will also increase, especially concerning ways and methods of implementing school tasks. Regulations concerning grading, graduation and classification are changed. Thus, students will need to pay greater attention to school work. Implementation of the resolutions contained in the Teachers Charter will be of significant importance to educators.

9959

CSO: 2600/930



POLISH SCOUT UNION ELECTS NEW COMMANDER

Supreme Council Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by K. Zaczekiewicz: "Plenary Meeting of ZHP [Polish Scout Union] Supreme Council. Scouting in Our Days. Ryszard Wosinski Elected New ZHP Commander-in-Chief"]

[Text] Self-government and autonomy play a major part in the scout approach to upbringing. Conducive to such activities is the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum which presupposes equality of status and equality before the law for all youth organizations, as stated in the program presentation at the 18 August ZHP Supreme Council session. The resolution proposes new rights for youth organizations--the right to comment on the government's plans and decisions, to participate in drafting laws, to propose new legislation and to have access to government information concerning implementation of its decisions--and constitutes a promise that youth will be treated as an active entity.

When the role of scouting in the system of education was discussed, it was found that the number of scouts in the schools has decreased. While there is a trend for scout troops to become independent and reach out beyond the school, if teachers expect support from the ZHP, they should also have confidence in the young instructors, give the troop leaders an opportunity and wait patiently. All educational institutions must unite in their recognition of patriotic, internationalist and moral values, while they should sponsor varying activities, appropriate to the concerns of each partner in the educational process.

The following are ranked as the fundamental goals of scouting:

--To create opportunities for achievement of full potential, not only for the best but also for the poorest and average scouts. The operative principle must be that everyone has a chance to test his skills with a sense of his own worth and shared responsibility;

--To provide unequivocal answers to spiritual, ideological and philosophical queries of young people;

--To appeal to youth not only through entertainment but also to attract them with the troops' moral force and the Scout Code principles;

--To rear independent self-starters, by confronting them with difficult tasks that force them to overcome their weaknesses;

--Troop activities should be dominated by these precepts of proper upbringing: work, earn, manage sensibly and save;

--ZHP traditions originating in the union's history should be cultivated so that the Scout Service for the Fatherland is closely concerned with the country's current situation.

Communication with all sectors is indispensable. Thus the Supreme Council Commission for Instructor Circles and Program-Methodical Movements reported its readiness to take charge of the contacts with A. Malkowski Scout Instructors Circles [KIHAM] and preparation of the ground for reestablishment and election of a new KIHAM Agreement Council (the previous council was dissolved in June 1982).

Following the presentation, in connection with his appointment as minister member of the Council of Ministers responsible for the concerns of the young generation, People's Poland Scoutmaster Andrzej Ornat submitted to the Supreme Council his request to be relieved of his position as ZHP Commander and Supreme Council Presidium member. The Presidium granted his request with one opposing vote.

Then the session chairman, People's Poland Scoutmaster, Piotr Lap, introduced the candidates who had been nominated for the position of ZHP commander the day before after stormy debate in the Supreme Council presidium. The candidates were Piotr Grzadek and Ryszard Wosinski, both former deputies to the ZHP commander. In a secret ballot with 78 of the 96 council members present, 44 votes were cast for Ryszard Wosinski and 32 for Piotr Grzadek.

The new ZHP commander's first official action was to pin a Gold Cross of Merit for the ZHP on the former commander, Andrzej Ornat, amid hearty applause.

A past ZHP Commander, Stanislaw Bogdanowicz, who was a guest at session, acknowledged A. Ornat's achievements and prestige and wished the newly elected commander scoutmaster, Ryszard Wosinski, good luck and success in working with young people.

#### New Commander Wosinski Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by k.z.: "Discussing Cooperation. A Conversation with Newly Elected ZHP Commander Ryszard Wosinski, People's Poland Scoutmaster"]

[Text] [Question] Was your election a big surprise?

[Answer] It is hard to answer this question. There certainly was an element of surprise. The subject was discussed with me only a few hours earlier. On the other hand, I had been close enough to scouting matters not to be surprised.

[Question] Will the change of commander involve a new style of operation and management of the organizations?

[Answer] Everyone obviously has his own view of scouting, but it is too early to present mine. In general, the policy line of the union remains unchanged. I intend to continue what we decided at the Seventh ZHP Congress.

[Question] What are your worst problems?

[Answer] There are many--implementation of the adopted program of activity, organization of our work and, perhaps the most important, our problem number one: recruitment of instructors and upgrading of their qualifications. The instructor staff is the motivating force in the union, crucial to its activity and character.

[Question] What solutions are being considered?

[Answer] For some time now, the solutions have been agreed on and implemented through such actions as the Central Training Drive (CAS), Senior Scout Training Drive (SAS), instructors' schools and the entire concept of instructors' circles maintaining emotional ties with the organization. Proper conditions should be created for their work.

[Question] What is the ZHP position with respect to other youth organizations, the fact that a Youth Affairs Committee was established as adjunct to the Council of Ministers and, in effect, cooperation within the framework of that committee?

[Answer] A position on a formula for cooperating with other organizations is something entirely different from an attitude toward the organizations themselves. The latter could not be better. These matters should not be equated. We are still in the stage of searching for bases for consensus, which requires discussion and makes future forms of cooperation an open question. A critical analysis of the principles for reciprocal functioning must be made prior to that. Otherwise we will not be able to avoid making the same mistakes again.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation. Again, congratulations on your election.

8795

CSO: 2600/880

## 'QUALITY OF LIFE' UNDER SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 pp 28-31

/Discussion by Virgil Adascalitei, Institute of the Trade and Tourist Economy, Honorina Cazacu, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Aurelian Dochia, Institute of Socialist Economics, Ionel Dorofte, Iasi Gh. Asachi Polytechnic Institute, Argentina Firuta, Institute for Political Sciences and Study of the Minorities Problem, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Oscar Hoffman, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Traian Lazar, Institute of Finance, Monetary Circulation and Prices, Ioan Matei, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Constanta Partenie, Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, Maria Eremia, Legal Research Institute, Elena Zamfir, Academy of Economic Studies, and Catalin Zamfir, Bucharest Polytechnic Institute: "Socialist Way of Life and Quality of Life"/

/Text/ CATALIN ZAMFIR: The Academy of Social and Political Sciences has a research collective working on the subject of "Way of Life and Quality of Life." Our collective has two main objectives, namely empirical research on quality of life and way of life (A first study of the perception of quality of life based on a broad sampling of 1,800 persons has already been completed) and formulation of an operational strategy.

In this talk I shall discuss the ways of improving the quality of life under Romania's particular conditions. When the RCP made the people's quality of life the supreme goal of the whole program for socioeconomic development we researchers in the social sciences had to help finalize and perfect the whole program for that purpose. The program to enhance the quality of life is to be regarded as an open and flexible general strategy that is being enriched, corrected and adjusted to the constantly changing conditions.

Three major types of strategy have been correlated in theory and integrated in an extensive program to enhance the quality of life. Of course continued economic growth at a suitable rate and in an effective way comes first. I see no need of arguing that no rapid improvement in the quality of life is possible without a broad and sound economic base. That is the reasoning upon which the RCP policy has been based from the start. I shall also discuss here the two other strategies that are to supplement the first one, namely more efficient use of the existing economic resources and use of a wide variety of noneconomic resources to improve the quality of life.



Regarding more efficient use of the existing economic resources, various analyses have indicated that in the present stage of social development (which also applies to Romanian society) there is a contradiction between the very rational and efficient character of production and the less efficient and sometimes even wasteful character of consumption. In other words, while production of goods has been very efficient, use of those goods by the community and their effect upon quality of life may sometimes be less so. The RCP Program stresses the importance of focusing all social activities upon satisfaction of the scientifically determined needs of the community, which are not homogeneous but vary with the life style of the community's members, so that a differentiated picture of them is needed.

To cite a few examples, the needs for food vary widely with the kind of work. Heavy physical labor requires more calories. The housing needs depend upon a number of factors such as the number of children or kind of work. A professor working part of the time at home needs a room for a library or office. A correct and effective orientation of production must be based on a clear picture of the community's particular needs.

As a basic task in the present developmental stage of Romanian society, improvement of production requires a more effective orientation toward satisfaction of the collective needs in their wide variety. Improvement of product quality is to be viewed from two standpoints. First, it has an economic importance properly speaking and leads to major savings in raw materials and energy (Products of poor quality have to be replaced frequently). Second, it is the best way to make more efficient use of the economic resources available for enhancing the quality of life.

Quality of life can be considerably improved with the same economic resources by better and more efficient organization of life. Formation of various life styles in keeping with people's particular needs and ambitions is a necessary trend in any developed society. The individual's greater competence in organizing his own life, in choosing and developing a life style based on the existing possibilities, is an important source of quality of life.

TRAIAN LAZAR: In defining quality of life I think we must proceed from the relation between the objective and subjective and between the economic and noneconomic. In fact, a few comments have been made about this. At any rate the economic factors, the quantity and quality of the social product, play a very important part in determining the quality of life because they provide a basis for all socioeconomic development and development of the personality.

As we know, the party documents stress the need of mobilizing and exploiting all productive resources. I would specially emphasize that consideration, pointing out the part played by agricultural resources, for example, in bringing about a better quality of life.

In fact the problem of mobilizing labor resources applies to all fields of endeavor anyway, and I think the problems of product quality and amount of social production are closely related to the general problems of quality of life.

CONSTANTA PARTENIE: To continue this discussion, I would bring up other problems in connection with the economic and social-political strategies for a

better quality of life. I think it is a matter of differentiating those socioeconomic and political strategies from the start according to the nature of the social system and on the specifically national but also the historical level from one stage to the next.

In the first place, the problems of improving the quality of life are general aims of all states' economic policies and of all programs and platforms of economic policy, so that the problems of quality of life are of general concern and form a structure of the strategies for socioeconomic and political development. They bring out the necessity of augmenting economic growth and of diversifying the technologies that can solve the problems of civilization for the present generation and even for the next one, since it takes a long time to develop and perfect the new technologies. Therefore the strategy for socioeconomic development is based upon the need of creating the material conditions for a long time span, a fact which places the accumulation-consumption ratio in a new light.

It also throws another light upon problems of distribution of resources and of the pattern of social regulation, and correlation of those resources with the needs. It is inefficient, for example, to raise the rate of renovation of consumer goods because of considerations of fashion or their excessive distribution, which artificially stimulates consumption and even leads to excessive consumption. It is inefficient to spend material, energy and manpower resources on goods that are operative for a short time.

Among the general developmental indicators of a national economy, the evolution and structure of employment of the labor force reflects a state's economic policy the most comprehensively because it primarily brings out an economic strategy according to sectors and it reveals the developmental level of the technical-material base, the degree of technical equipment of labor, and the demographic and investment policies, but it particularly indicates a nation's productive power and its ability to provide for employment of its entire manpower potential in the course of economic development. In other words, the evolution and structure of employment are both quantitative and qualitative indicators that can measure the prosperity of a socioeconomic system and the quality of its production method and of its way of life.

AURELIAN DOGHIA: It is significant that the concept of "quality of life" was assimilated in Romania in the period and under the influence of the development of the concept "fully developed socialist society," because the transition to that new stage of Romania's social development is creating both the conditions and the need for some new and more complete and more differentiated ways of describing the performances of the social system. The concept of "quality of life" meets that requirement. It makes for a description of all conditions of man's existence (in the area of work but also in the areas of spare time, the family, social participation, and contacts with nature and fellow men) and thereby restores to the human being his true, many-sided nature.

The essential feature of the new concept, namely its intermediate position between the objective nature of the conditions of human existence and the subjective nature of the individual, to some extent explains the difficulties in trying to make it operational. Efforts have been made to develop a coherent

system of indicators of quality of life, the so-called social indicators. The results obtained so far warrant hopes of solving the problem. But I do not think that achievement will mean any immediate, effective and efficient use of the "quality of life" concept in planning social development. Some transitional period will be needed to adapt and adjust some information structures, to create other new ones and the right institutional framework and, finally, to change some attitudes connected with the old conception.

As a matter of fact there has also been a good deal of discussion in the Romanian literature about determining the predominance of the economic factors (especially consumption) or the cultural ones in enhancing the quality of life. The question of life style as a type of behavior characteristic of the individual in the process of satisfying his needs also comes up here. Life style is the expression of socially and historically determined adjustment to a given environment. The possibility of choosing, under the conditions provided by the natural and social environment, a life style in keeping with the values and the hierarchy of needs peculiar to each subject leads to a considerable improvement in the quality of life.

OSCAR HOFFMAN: From the opinions expressed here I think we can regard it as a scientific advantage to introduce considerations of alternation in the problems of quality of life and to transcend a very rigid and unrealistic treatment of quality of life that often divorces it from the real, human background of the alternations and of the human properly speaking. Quality of life is actually the quality of human satisfaction. From this standpoint I think two mistakes in treatment of the quality of life were already introduced in the previous period, and one of them is objectivizing the concept.

In this way the concept is divorced from the social background properly speaking, permitting quite erroneous comparisons of the meaning of quality of life in one country or another. The same considerations led to the evolutionist conception of quality of life. Since socioeconomic progress is continuous, it follows that the quality of life also improves, but I think the great paradox of evolution lies in the fact that the great lags in quality of life are not ordinarily the result of social declines, lack of progress or regression but, on the contrary, they are the result of social progress. Socioeconomic progress in a given direction leads to a lag in quality of life that creates new demands for human satisfaction and thereby necessitates new progress.

Therefore quality of life is not a social fact and it does not mean the conditions of social existence, the conditions of fulfillment, the living standard or anything other than the extent to which the objective condition of society at a given time can satisfy the individual's subjective demands at that point in history. I think it is a concept in which the objective and the subjective are equally involved.

Quality of life is a concept wherein the historian is at home, that is a concept that is constantly reconstructed because the lags, conflicts and even the crises in development entail new demands. Greater ambitions have given rise to greater demands, so that people are beginning to be dissatisfied even with conditions that used to satisfy them. The problem is that the factors for lags appear within progress and not outside it.



I agree in this respect with the idea expressed by Comrade Zamfir about the problems of lags caused by the life style. A factor for change may also be a factor for economic progress and for social progress, but it can become a factor for lag from other points of view.

HONORINA CAZACU: I should like to point out a few aspects of our studies. In the course of our studies of participation in management, for example, we have found a distinction in the sense of greater demands upon the democratic system of organizing management that has been in effect for the last decade.

This study indicates that workers' standards are higher under a better system of management instituted in the economic units in the last decade. The party members with more experience and more seniority in an enterprise have higher standards for consultation of workers, for evaluating the way workers' suggestions are carried out, for the role of the general assembly, and for instances of bureaucracy encountered in the organization of the general assemblies or in the activity of the representative to the workers council. Therefore I think the problem is a real one and the fact is significant that the improved participation system has been accompanied by a rise in the workers' standards for that system.

There has also been progress on the educational level, which Comrade Hoffman also mentioned, and on the democratic-institutional and other levels, which in itself gives rise to new demands for progress.

IONEL DOROFTE: In the course of the study Comrade Catalin Zamfir was referring to, we were often dissatisfied ourselves with our chances of probing a reality that proved too complex for the working methods we had. Our study could be criticized on that score because it envisaged quality of life at a given level, that is as it is at a given point and as if that structure of it were unequivocal and there were no other possibilities for its evolution. But I think the ratio between the datum and the construct in the quality of life, as in personality development in general, is in favor of the construct. There is a whole series of possible alternatives and we must not regard the course taken by the present technicized civilization, for example, as the only way to interpret a better human life.

This could be a primary point of reference, and it is important to prove by investigation that there are several sets of actions and methods for meeting the social demands that make up certain possible ways of life. Marketing techniques have proved that the necessities themselves have been introduced in society. It was said here that industry must concentrate on meeting the community's demands. Actually these necessities were created in their turn by a certain stage of industrial development. Reconstruction of the personality and quality of human life from within, as contrasted with a view from outside, is a desideratum that is still in that stage. On the basis of the idea that the necessities themselves can be formed, the role of psychology and sociology on that level is to find the desirable ways of constructing and implementing them among people.

ELINA ZAMFIR: I wish to bring up some conclusions from a study based on a sampling of 1,000 students at the Bucharest University Center concerning the students' life style. We proceeded on the assumption that the way of life in the



student period has a number of distinctive features that can be indicative of the quality of life but can also be taken as a starting point in the theoretical construction of a model of the quality of life characteristic of youths.

Many of the ideas expressed here largely agree with the results of our study. We intended not only to determine some general features of the youths' life style but also to establish a definite typology of life styles within it. We wondered if there are any significant differences according to certain "objective" parameters (type of faculty and profession chosen, native social environment) or subjective personal ones (intellectual capacities, creativeness, talent, value orientations etc.).

Student life rapidly and intensively levels youths from various social-occupational environments, preparing them for a way of life different from that of the families from which most of them come. These two factors, the present conditions of student life and the future social-professional status, tend to heighten the uniformity of the students way of life.

We think the subjective factors whereby the social-human environment is evaluated, judged and classified by its human implications are important in quality of life. Our study emphasized the way we can identify certain value orientations among youth that are indicative of a particular life style. We selected some characteristics of social existence that we considered important to quality of life and asked the students to estimate which direction future shifts will take.

Three sources of optimism are outstanding, namely favorable changes in professions, more rational social activity, and growing control of social organization. Moreover a favorable trend toward economic equalization is to be seen, and there is a clear trend toward values of self-cultivation, self-excelling, personal self-development, and greater degrees of specialization, information, social and human responsibility, and creativeness as a constant source of improvement.

AURELIAN DOCHIA: As an economist I am probably expected to oppose what has been generally expressed here or beforehand, but my views agree with the work of the collective to study quality of life, and I have repeatedly verified that in practice.

In general the emphasis has been on the contribution the new concept of "quality of life" has made, compared with previous concepts like the living standard for example, by reflecting more aspects of human life. Actually, as I pointed out in my first comment, the concept of "quality of life" is an attempt, not yet successful, to describe all aspects of human life in a given society. Trying to achieve the objectivity of the natural sciences, the social sciences have taken a certain stand concerning the relationship between the individual and the community. At one time the community was somehow identified with the objective and the individual with the subjective, and the objective was very often favored for that reason. What I think is important about the concept of "quality of life" is its assertion of the role of the individual in assessing his living conditions.

MARIA EREMBIA: The hypothesis was mentioned here of an improved situation which then gives rise to greater subjective demands and accordingly advances the ways

of satisfying those demands. In a report prepared by a collective at the Institute of Legal Sciences and the Faculty of Law, we recommended the same idea with the particular resources of the legal sciences. In the referenced report we maintained that liberation from the fear caused in society by the existence of crime would be one way to improve the quality of life. We mentioned some fields to indicate where certain legislation could be improved, thus contributing to quality of life. Certain improvements of this kind can be made in family law, for example.

The situation in this area was improved in 1954 by the Family Code, which clearly represents some progress. Today the laws establish equality between men and women and equality of parents in raising children as principles. The subjective desire and the objective necessity for progress now make it possible to improve these laws in keeping with the current conditions.

Our collective made some suggestions to this end. We militated for the founding of family consultation centers, that is centers to give medical, pedagogic and legal advice to adolescents, young married couples, the single women who are raising their children, etc. Such family consultation centers exist in other countries, as in Czechoslovakia for example. In a way it was tried in Romania on the medical level, in Cluj-Napoca, but there is not yet any statute to regulate the activity of those centers. We proposed to relieve women with children up to a certain age of some tasks in the course of the program. We cited examples from some actual studies made in our institute that indicate the educational advantages largely compensate for the difficulties that may arise.

ICAN MATEI: To continue exploring the many implications of quality of life, I would confine myself to a simple statement of a viewpoint that could be useful in considering that concept.

I wish to mention the part I think ecological considerations could play in determining the strategies for enhancing the quality of life. As a matter of fact the importance of environmental conditions in the system of indicators of quality of life is generally accepted. Two years ago a publication of the Central Directorate of Statistics introduced environmental conditions as a primary indicator of quality of life, environmental conditions of course in the broad sense of both the natural and the constructed environment and all the sociocultural facilities that the communities have.

What I wish to stress is the importance of sociological knowledge of what constitutes the active element in improvement of the living and environmental conditions. Our study brought out the importance of knowing both the components of cultural processing of the environment, which are structuring the perception of the environment and acting to modify the environment.

VIHAR ADASCALITSEI: Trade and services make up an important component of the very comprehensive concept of quality of life. In addition to the aspects that have been briefly presented here, trade and services make an essential contribution in predetermining a given quality of life.

It has been mentioned here that an effort to outline a system of indicators of quality of life was made in an extensive work 2 years ago. I would like to call your attention to another viewpoint about the grouping of the respective

indicators. It seems to me we might discuss a series of cause and effect indicators. For example, incomes and supply of goods can be regarded as cause indicators of the quality of life and the living standard, while the level and structure of public consumption, per capita consumption et al. can serve as effect indicators. If we were to go beyond the strictly commercial to other areas like health, for example, we could have cause indicators like the number of physicians or the number of hospital beds for example, while the general state of public health could be an indicator of the most general effect.

On the subject of the system of indicators, I stress the particular importance of the consumption indicators in describing the quality of life. The following consumption indicators have been specially emphasized in our institute: the absolute level of consumption, per capita consumption, and level of consumption of the main products according to groups of products. As we have stated on other occasions, under no circumstances did we or do we intend to copy an already existing consumption in any country, but we want to develop rational consumptions under the conditions of our order. Mention has been made here of the need of a general and a differentiated treatment of quality of life, according to categories of the population. We can speak of both the quality of life throughout a society and the quality of individual life. I should like to point out that we must also study quality of life according to segments, namely the categories of the population. For example, references have already been made during the discussion to youth, which is a very important segment of the population.

With increased forces, more comprehensive and perhaps more useful studies than the previous ones could be undertaken with a multidisciplinary approach, the combined efforts of the interested elements, and a better clarification of what is to be done or undertaken to improve the quality of life.

For example, we are also interested in the degree of processing the raw material and in points concerning the diversity of the assortment. To improve the quality of life, there must be an increasingly high degree of raw material processing. Of course changes are made in the commodity sales structure and will continue to be made. Sales of nonalimentary products will increase, as well as the share of public catering in the total food consumption. Those are points that must also be considered because they concern not only the volume of sales but also the structural changes in the latter.

A greater effort must be made to instruct and educate the personnel working in these important activities, since they make a very great contribution to determination of the quality of life. Moreover that network of units must be better distributed geographically in reference to the places where the consumers of goods and services are located.

In the future more use will be made of interdisciplinary studies to clarify the content of the concept of "quality of life" and to determine the directions in which efforts are to be made to enhance the quality of life.

ARGENTINA FIRUTA: As a new interpretation of the relationship of man to society to nature, the regulatory aspect of quality of life has helped considerably to recall the quality of human life to the attention of public opinion and the scientific community as a synthesis-value, in preparation for its interdisciplinary treatment.

Regardless of the level of economic and social-political development, contemporary society is characterized by a general process of reselecting its social-human values. A process is going on of rejecting such values as consumption, property and money characteristic of the societies based on inequality and exploitation, and in their place fundamentally new values are being acquired, asserted and practiced such as cooperation and solidarity, quality and self-fulfillment, creativeness and anticipation, equality and justice, adjustment and communication, competence and participation, respect for cultural variety, and protection of characteristics of nature.

The appeal to dialectics necessitated by present-day social reality is a correction of scientific and philosophical thought, which was misled for a time by the traditional model of economic growth as a model of progress and substituted one of the means of social development for the end, thus losing sight of the true purpose of social evolution, man's fulfillment in harmony with himself, society and nature.

The concept of "quality of life" was necessary as a rejection of a certain development (technologicistic, economistic and quantitativistic) and of certain values (individualistic and consumistic) characteristic of the first industrial revolution and capitalist society. The regulatory purpose that this concept implies today in all aspects of life, objective and subjective, has a significance that is essentially favorable to man.

5186

CSO: 2700/361



## ROMANIA

### REVIEW OF BOOK ON HISTORY OF WORKERS MOVEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 pp 36-38

[Review by Stefan Lache of the book "Workers Movement in Romania in 1924-1928," by Marin C. Stanescu, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981]

[Text] Historian Marin C. Stanescu's book is a monographic treatment of the diverse activity of the RCP and other workers political and trade organizations in 1924-1928. His concentration on that period will help considerably to remedy one of the shortcomings of historical research and study that has been felt for some time. As he says in the introduction to the book, "Romanian historiography has taken up the vast and complicated problems of this period only in studies of some aspects or phases that are not always major ones, and some of them are long outmoded as to both investigation and interpretation."\* Consequently the author's task was difficult, requiring not only the recovery and selection of a huge volume of information in the archival documents and the press of the time and of the conclusions drawn by other authors, but especially the critical analysis of same in order to present the historical facts, events and personalities as truthfully as possible.

Fully integrated in the general evolution of Romanian society and as an inseparable component of the nation's history, the revolutionary workers movement played an important part in Romania's socioeconomic and political development within the single national state founded in 1918 and helped the Romanian people to advance on the path of progress and modern civilization. Romanian researchers regard special works on problems of the workers movement as a means of enriching the nation's history with more detailed pictures essential to correct interpretation of the processes and events of the past and of the direction and scope of the Romanian people's development in the modern and contemporary periods. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said at the recent Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, the RCP was born in the social struggles in the course of the Romanian people's history and therefore its history is that of the Romanian nation, a history harmoniously reflecting all the deeds, sufferings and victories of the progressive forces of Romania.

\*Marin C. Stanescu, "Workers Movement in Romania in 1924-1928," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981, p 9. Henceforth references to the work will be cited in the text.

The RCP was always in the lead of Romania's progressive political forces. Founded in May 1921 as a result of a long process of political, organizational and ideological maturing of the Romanian workers movement, it became the recognized leader of the working class, having included in its program construction of the socialist and communist orders as a basic aim. The RCP promoted the advanced ideas of the time, maintaining in agreement with the other workers parties and organizations the immediate objectives of industrial development and defense of the national wealth, agrarian reform in the peasants' favor, enforcement of the democratic rights and freedoms provided in the Romanian Constitution, better living and working conditions for the working masses, etc. Expressing the major interests of the entire people, the communists defended the national culture and firmly replied to the backward ideas conveyed by the reactionary bourgeois circles. The RCP appealed to the working class, the peasantry, the other categories of workers, and the workers parties and organizations to "save the nation's economic independence, prevent the seizure of its wealth by the foreign imperialist capitalists" and to "guarantee the political independence of the state" (pp 26, 27).

Despite some immense difficulties it had to face (particularly because it was outlawed in the summer of 1924) and the persecutions of every kind to which its militants were subjected, the RCP was a strong presence in Romanian political affairs throughout the period the book covers, which was one of the most complex periods in the entire evolution of the Romanian workers movement. Its practical and theoretical efforts to organize and lead the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the masses took a variety of forms, ways and means. Reorganization and adjustment to illegal conditions, ceaseless creative efforts to study the phenomena characteristic of the new structure of Romania's social development in order to work out the political policy and the combat strategy and tactics, formation of a series of legal or semilegal mass organizations, publication and use of more than 70 legal and illegal newspapers and magazines in prolonged or occasional publication in addition to numerous manifestoes and brochures, leadership in hundreds of strikes and labor conflicts breaking out in various labor centers, participation in the general and communal elections and other political actions to maintain close ties with the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, etc. -- all these were important aspects of the period of the RCP's illegal existence. The struggle led by the RCP on behalf of the nation's progress met with high praise frankly expressed by many political, cultural and scientific figures. The ideas in the program and the advanced concepts promoted by communists were publicized and defended not only in the public assemblies they organized but also in the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate and other official national political forums the representatives of the Communist Party could not attend at the time.

Only 1 year after it was outlawed the RCP resurfaced in political life to form the Workers and Peasants Bloc, a legal mass unit with a flexible and realistic program through which the RCP expressed its views on a number of problems of national importance. As a result of careful study of the evolution of Romanian economic and social-political affairs and widely disseminated among the working masses via the press and public meetings in electoral campaigns, the program of the Workers and Peasants Bloc, M. C. Stanesco says, "actually represented our party's true program" (p 65). The same constructive context includes the efforts of the communists in the unified trade unions (the most comprehensive proletarian mass organization, under the RCP's leadership) to restore the unity of

the trade union movement and to found the United Workers Front. The Union of Communist Youth, the Red Aid in Romania, the Romanian Workers Aid, the Union of Independent Students, the Central Committee on Aid, the League of Human Rights, the Amnesty Committee, working womens circles, the League Against Terror etc. operated under the Communist Party's guidance and influence. In the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles, the party succeeded in expanding its organization and consolidating its own ranks, especially in the big industrial enterprises.

As the book demonstrates, the RCP's constructive efforts to define its general political policy and to consolidate its ties with the masses were seriously impaired not only by the foreign elements in Romania who were hostile to it but also by the direct interference of the international communist bodies in its internal affairs. Thus the author analyzes the point at which the Balkan Communist Federation arbitrarily took over the task of studying the minorities problem in Romania and proclaimed at its Sixth Conference, held in Berlin in December 1923, that the achievement of the Romanian national state was "an imperialistic seizure of territories" and accordingly assigned the RCP the task (express and immediate) of fighting for "self-determination to the point of separation of some provinces from the existing state." As the book points out, such "principles" and "tasks" were repeated by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and the Seventh Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation and they constituted "the most blatant interference so far in the internal affairs of the RCP and even in those of Romania, a united, sovereign and independent state" (p 27). They distorted the meaning of the principle of peoples' self-determination which, in Lenin's view, was for the purpose of liberating the nations subjugated by the great empires and establishing or restoring the national states, not dismembering them. Promulgated along with other erroneous and harmful views like the sectarian-leftist ones about the imminent transition of the Balkan communist parties to the takeover of political power and accomplishment of the revolution, they had serious consequences for the party and facilitated intensification of the reactionary circles' anticommunist propaganda and the state authorities' repressive measures against the communists.

The international communist bodies persisted in this mistake for a long time, exerting intensive pressure to force a political policy and strategic and tactical objectives upon the RCP that were in complete disagreement with the social-political realities in Romania. The way, analyzed in the book, the Third RCP Congress in Vienna in the summer of 1924 was organized and conducted is edifying. The conduct of the proceedings of the congress under the direct supervision of the representatives of the Comintern and the Balkan Communist Federation and in the absence of some of the RCP's leading militants, including its secretary general Gheorghe Cristescu, made it easy to include some erroneous principles and ideas in the documents that were approved. Some resolutions were even changed shortly afterward by the representatives of the international communist forums, disregarding the discussions and decisions of the congress and literally copying the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

Actually however the RCP ignored such directions and resolutions in its practical political activity. The book includes many examples, which can be supplemented by others, showing that the key party activists and the revolutionary militants evaded or tried to evade the Comintern's directives and policies, promoting a correct political policy based on the Romanian realities in their daily



activity. As one delegate to the Third RCP Congress pointed out, "The slogan 'Self-Determination to the Point of Separation' enjoys no sympathy among the masses in Transylvania because they do not aspire to separation but democratization of all Romania" (p 33). And a year later at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of 21-24 July 1925 it was frankly admitted that "The Communist Party has done very little about the minorities problem," a fact "very harshly condemned" by the Balkan Communist Federation.

M. C. Stanesco specially emphasizes the proceedings of this plenum, conducted in a conspiratorial atmosphere in the home of a railroad worker from Tirgu-Mures and chaired by Elek Koblos, the RCP secretary general, concluding that by virtue of the importance of the items on the agenda and the realistic content of the documents discussed and approved "It had a significance approaching that of a congress" (p 50). Upon due consideration of the discussions and documents of the plenum and its consequences as well, the author says that it could not entirely ignore the Comintern's directives but it actually defined the main content of the activity in that period, namely in-depth study of Marxism by all party personnel so that they could apply it creatively to the socioeconomic and political facts in Romania and draw the right conclusions for the party's general political orientation, adoption of the best ways to combine illegal with legal activity in order to include the revolutionary struggles of the urban and rural working masses in a single front, etc. To that end it was recommended to reach temporary agreements on various problems with the trade union, youth and womens organizations and other workers or democratic-bourgeois organizations and units.

Improving the communists' theoretical and dialectical-materialist training was considered "the party's most urgent duty," in view of the necessity of investigating the social-political facts in Romania, which was in a rapid evolution, so that the conclusions drawn would be the fruit of the Romanian communists' own thinking. In recommending study of Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea's works, especially "The New Serfdom" and "Critical Studies," which it considered "profound works of Marxist analysis," the plenum also required consideration of the changes in Romanian history since the Great Unification of 1918 and an immediate beginning of preparation and publication of some new works in keeping with the new conditions. Note that the plenum emphasized accounts of the revolutionary traditions of the Romanian working class, the Romanian people's past struggle for national freedom and independence, and especially events like Horea's uprising, the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu, the 1848 Revolution etc., bringing out the role of the peasantry and popular masses in accomplishing them. Study of the Romanian realities in the course of their development and knowledge of the Romanian people's history recommended by the RCP were no momentary considerations but of a permanent nature. The RCP's laborious efforts were indicative of its characteristic concern for the destinies of the Romanian nation and state.

The author regards the plenum's generally correct analysis of the social and political relationships and its identification of the permanent or temporary allies of the working class as "the first attempt to determine the revolutionary stage before which Romania stood" (p 62). Actually the documents of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in July 1925 expressed ideas that had been outlined in the party to the effect that Romania had not entered the stage of imperialist evolution but was on the verge of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, an idea



that considerably stimulated the discussions to clarify the nature of the motive forces and prospects of the revolution in Romania. The policies adopted by the plenum enabled the party to successfully breach the walls of illegality, cast off a number of principles and directives that had restricted it, collaborate with other political forces, and assert itself with increasing strength in the Romanian political arena. In a short time the communists' organizational and political activity was invigorated and diversified, which became strikingly apparent on the occasion of the RCP's Workers and Peasants Bloc participation in the communal elections in 1926 as part of the Socialist and Unitarist Bloc and the United Opposition. As a result, over 200 communists, socialists and social-democrats were elected to the new city and communal councils. What is more, the fact is very important that during the electoral campaign and less than 1 year after the prohibition of their legal activity, the communist militants mounted the same rostrum not only with their comrades in the Socialist Party but also with bourgeois politicians, inducing them to collaborate and publicly defend the masses' demands.

The experience acquired by participating in the communal elections and later in the parliamentary ones in 1926 broadened the discussions of the RCP's immediate and long range tasks and, in this connection, its relations with the bourgeois political groups of the opposition. In analyzing these discussions, the author mentions the well-known principle formulated by Boris Stefanov to the effect that it was necessary at the time "to attack alongside the bourgeois parties in the oligarchy (the great bourgeoisie grouped around the Liberal Party -- author's note) to carry out the masses' immediate demands" (p 108). The author brings arguments to the effect that this principle, developed upon analysis of Romania's socioeconomic situation, the evolution of class relations, and the various trends that were appearing within the bourgeois parties, was by no means "an opportunistic deviation of the right," as it was called later under the influence of some circles beyond the borders.

As contrasted with the conceptions to the effect that Romania was on the verge of the bourgeois revolution and that the National Peasants Party was the political force that would bring that revolution to its conclusion, the author points out that "B. Stefanov believed the hegemony belonged to the proletariat, led by the Communist Party" (p 110). Essentially he meant by the formula "alongside the bourgeois parties" that in a first stage the RCP had to collaborate with the bourgeois political parties and groups while maintaining its class character and pursuing its ultimate goal. Moreover the preparation and accomplishment of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national emancipation in August 1944 and the inauguration of the democratic-revolutionary power on 6 March 1945 indicate the correctness of the formula that recommended extensive collaboration of the workers parties with political forces of bourgeois democratic orientation up to a certain point.

The author investigates the very difficult conditions under which the RCP had to operate, which conditions did not permit it to organize extensive public discussions of all aspects of its work or to make any analysis at critical points and promptly adopt the best solutions to the problems it faced. Its internal difficulties were aggravated by the harmful effects of its relations with the Third International, a generator of rigid leftist positions whereby "directions" and "directives" foreign to the Romanian realities were imposed from without.

In organizing a new party congress the RCP leadership used their previous experience and allowed for the obstacles inherent in the illegal preparations for the congress, deciding to hold a preliminary conference first. But the Executive Committee of the Communist International took over this task and, without notifying the RCP management organs of it, convened a conference in Kharkov in June 1928 which it arbitrarily transformed into the Fourth Party Congress.

The book describes the proceedings of this meeting, which was outstanding in the Comintern representatives' insensitive remarks and in its serious and unprecedented violation of party regulations and the elementary standards of workers democracy. This created an illegitimate background for discussions and conditions unsuited to any serious analysis of the problems but suitable for imposing directives predetermined by the Comintern. The party's active participation alongside other extensive popular forces in the electoral campaigns of 1925-1926, which enabled it although illegal to appear openly and on a wide scale on the Romanian political scene and to achieve major successes, was sharply criticized at this meeting by the Comintern representatives. The criticisms of the party's "inactivity" in applying the slogan of some Romanian territories' self-determination "to the point of separation from the state" were repeated on this occasion. The Romanian communists were taken to task because they did not accept that slogan or disseminate it among the masses and it was "openly ignored" which, to the party's credit, was perfectly true.

And so beyond the erroneous content of some documents we discern the real reasons for the RCP's position and its principled and national attitude. Lucretiu Patrascanu spoke in the discussions and after reading the resolution on the minorities problem indignantly rejected the assertion in that document that the Moldavians are not Romanians but "a different nation with a culture of its own." He firmly stated that "The Moldavians are no nation apart and geographically and historically they are the same Romanians as the Romanians in Moldavia." Boldly facing the Comintern's representatives, he concluded by stating that "The introduction of such a false point makes the resolution false too" (p 172).

At the end of the proceedings the Central Committee was appointed, and no RCP member was appointed secretary general but an activist of the Ukrainian Communist Party. In a general description of the Kharkov meeting the author mentions that it caused great dissensions and fractionist manifestations and drove the party along sectarian paths that brought it within one step to liquidation. M. C. Stanescu concludes, "The harsh lesson of that event illustrates beyond any doubt the bad effects of leadership of the Romanian workers movement from a center of the international communist movement and the disastrous consequences of outside interference in the RCP's affairs" (p 175).

The book gives special attention to the preparation and conduct of the Congress of 7-9 May 1927, which unified the component regional organizations of the Federation of Socialist Parties and legalized the formation of the PSD [Social-Democratic Party] in Romania. That party's draft program and the presented reports are examined critically and in depth, as well as various opinions expressed by the delegates indicating in general the Romanian social-democratic positions on the major problems of political, socioeconomic, ideological, domestic and international affairs. The main conclusion to which the reader is led is that "From the organizational standpoint, the congress was a constructive forward step. But from the standpoint of theory and the program it was clearly

retrograde because it generalized the reformist stand that was taken only by some of the component parties" (p 199). As it is noted in the book, the PSD was usually limited to the ideas formulated in prewar socialist works, which were otherwise noteworthy but outdated in the new stage of Romania's development. It also allowed itself to be influenced and dominated by the documents of the socialist and social-democratic parties in Western Europe.

The PSD's collaboration with the PNT [National Peasants Party] was accompanied by the almost complete cessation of any cooperation with the RCP and the other workers organizations. The examples in the book show that not even the social-democrats had "complete freedom of action" within the Socialist International (p 225). The refusal to collaborate with the RCP and the Workers and Peasants Bloc or any other workers organizations and the electoral alliance with the PNT, which had come to power in the meantime, primarily served the latter party and aggravated the internal dissensions of the PSD, which had been threatened since its founding by the danger of being unable to preserve its unity, and brought it to a new split. In July 1928 the foundations were laid of the Socialist Workers Party of Romania, which advocated unity of action of the working class. The author feels that in the light of the nation's deteriorating socioeconomic situation, against the background of which it had to start a new wave of revolutionary struggles, the founding of the new party led to dispersion of the workers forces. But this action was in categorical opposition to the political course of collaboration with the bourgeois parties alone, which had been inaugurated by the PSD.

The book includes profuse chapters on the youth organizations, the trade union movement and other workers organizations, and the strikes of the Romanian proletariat, with many unpublished facts and differentiated treatments. A special chapter contains significant aspects of the relations between the Romanian work-workers parties and the international forums with which they were affiliated and of the Romanian workers' solidarity with the struggle of the working class and the peoples of other countries against exploitation and oppression and on behalf of national and social freedom.

We did not intend to make detailed criticisms of any of the book's shortcomings. We are convinced that the author realizes the need of expanding the area of investigation, of thorough examination of the phenomena studied, and of an extra effort to expose the whole distorted view suggested by some documents, press organs and various writings of the time. As an example I note the at least one-sided way in which S. Timov's work "Against the New Serfdom," published in Moscow in 1928, is viewed. Of course the book is not specially concerned with this book. Since he involves it in an analysis from a positive point of view, a general description of it was necessary, with mention of the fact that it was profoundly affected by the international communist forums' distorted view of the nature of the Romanian state. Moreover correct opinions about it have already been expressed in Romanian historical and social-political thought. In a study published in 1968 in connection with exploitation of C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea's sociological work, correct criteria are advanced for analyzing Timov's writing, pointing out that it "carried to an extreme the one-sided and even derogatory position on Gherea, whose general conception of Romania's stage of socioeconomic development completely rejected the profoundly mistaken theory supported by Timov that Romania was an imperialist state." (1)

Written with an endeavor to respect historical truth and to contribute to better knowledge of the history of the Romanian workers movement in 1924-1928, M. C. Stanescu's book , despite some shortcomings or errors, is a sound scientific instrument of use both to researchers in the field of contemporary Romanian history and to teachers, propagandists and other ideological activists.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. Stefan Voicu, "Introduction to the Exploitation of Dobrogeanu-Gherea's Sociological Work," LUPTA DE CLASA No 3, 1968, p 74.

5186

CSO: 2700/361



## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Florea is appointed minister of wood industrialization and construction materials. The following are appointed deputy ministers of wood industrialization and construction materials: Gheorghe Constantinescu, Marin Cristea, Mircea Georgescu, and Gheorghe Lazar. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 20 Sep 82 p 11]

REMOVAL OF OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Alexandru Iliescu is released from his position as deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials and chief of the Department of Silviculture. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 16 Sep 82 p 2]

APPOINTMENTS IN MINISTRY OF SILVICULTURE--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Cioara is appointed minister of silviculture, Comrade Ioan Petrescu is appointed deputy minister of silviculture, and Comrade Eugen Tarhon is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Silviculture. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 16 Sep 82 p 2]

CSO: 2700/7

## SERBIAN PRESIDENT LJUBICIC SPEAKS IN SOUTH MORAVA

LD182054 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Sero-Broatian 1450 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Excerpts] 18 Sep (Tanjug)--It is well known that we face severe problems as regards the country's foreign liquidity. It seems to me that the problem of foreign liquidity has not been understood profoundly enough. In particular, it has not been explained sufficiently to the working people at the grassroots. The explanations have stopped at the level of leading people from the municipality to certain forums. The full seriousness of these problems has still not been presented to our working class and working people. I believe that we should tell all of them openly that the country's liquidity is not only an economic and financial, and not even only a political, issue but also a security issue, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, said in Leskovac yesterday when addressing members of the political aktiv of the South Morava region.

We can and must ensure the country's liquidity. Neither difficulties nor external attempts to make our present conditions more difficult will make us hesitate in this respect.

Speaking about the need to revive all aspects of production, Ljubicic went on to say that we must increase production in general, both industrial and agriculture production, and thus realize a much greater income.

Hitherto, Ljubicic said, we have incurred debts only too easily and have not planned in a sufficiently rational manner. Construction work has gone on too long and investments have not been activated on time in order to pay with the revenue the installments and interest rates which have matured or fallen due. Some factory units have still been under construction when obligations have matured. We have a considerable number of omissions and a considerable number of mistakes in our investment policy. This is one of the basic reasons for our finding ourselves in such an economic situation.

Noting that productivity in the economy has seriously fallen, Ljubicic said that a shortage of reproduction materials and raw materials, the struggle of work organizations to obtain reproduction materials at any cost, the making of deliveries on the internal market conditional on payments in foreign exchange has led to the dinar losing its value and to "foreign exchange-mania" on the internal market. In this connection various irregularities, isolationism,

blackmail and such like are emerging. "I think that we must oppose this. The dinar must acquire its rightful place in our internal goods turnover. It is our duty to restore to the dinar its rightful role in our economic mechanism. What also creates problems for us, Ljubicic went on, is the fact that we allow many negative phenomena to accumulate and before prevalent and generally accepted practice."

Legal means should be applied resolutely and strictly against anybody who inflicts damage on the social sector or weakens its economic power, as well as against anybody who makes enrichment of certain dishonest and unscrupulous persons possible. Municipal assemblies should set all their organs--inspection organs, tax organs and all others--the serious task of intensifying their work connected with uncovering and combating all aspects of dishonesty and violation and circumventing of regulations. Wherever the relevant municipal organs and institutions will not fight resolutely against negative phenomena it will be assumed, whether we want it or not, whether those people want it or not, that there is a certain collusion and association between such organs and those who violate the regulations, who violate socialist social norms.

One of the main issues to which we must devote our full attention, Ljubicic went on, is the consolidation of self-management. It is only through the consolidation of self-management that we can create conditions for working people to work with greater enthusiasm and greater devotion. However, self-management should not be equated with the number or duration of meetings. I am not against meetings or reports which contribute to more and better goods being produced, which contribute to more and better work, but I am against various meetings and lengthy generalized reports, against the repetition of whatever is known. I am also against our constantly convincing ourselves that the situation is what it is, because we know what it is like. I am in favor of meetings which warn us about what we should do and how we should do it and which orientate us toward work.

Speaking about the role of the press, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of Serbia said: All of us are in favor of timely and accurate information for the public. All of us are in favor of articles in the press and on television which move one to action, which unfold prospects, which encourage the solution of problems, which indicate the way out of a situation. However, some articles, Ljubicic said, also have the opposite effect and somehow introduce (?suspicion) about our entire activity. I am against such articles and against this type of information for the public. Comrade journalists, Ljubicic said, know that we cannot resolve everything at once, that one cannot extricate oneself from difficulties all at once and that this calls for patience on our part. We must work toward extricating ourselves from such a situation as soon as possible. All of us would like to progress as quickly as possible. But one can go only as quickly as forces and objective circumstances allow it. It is easy to criticize but the essential thing is how to build more quickly, how to work more quickly and how to implement more quickly. Neither exaggerated pessimism and dramatization nor exaggerated optimism in assessing the present situation can lead to anything. As communists we are used to difficulties. We have tackled them. We know how to make assessments and how to find ways out of such situations. The present situation, too, is not so bad that it must be painted only in dark colors or to have the notion inculcated in some people that

it is difficult for us to find a way out. We can find a way out. The League of Communists should mobilize all its forces to embark on action jointly in order that all of us together can adopt a different attitude to work and obligations.

Speaking about the political security situation in South Morava region, Ljubicic said: When it is a question of the political security situation of your region, you must become far more involved, in particular when it is a question of involvement in the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja. We have spent considerable time struggling against the counterrevolution. We have been successful. Tribute should be paid to the communists both in Kosovo and in these three municipalities, and in particular to communists who are Albanians and who have become involved and who have contributed considerably to the results which we have achieved. Leading people, revolutionaries, members of the League of Communists have also been in the front ranks this time. They must remain there. However, Ljubicic went on, I think that too much time has been spent on discussions and on adoption of attitudes in forums. Perhaps this was a good thing and perhaps it should have been like that. Now that we have already adopted all the attitudes and examined the entire situation, we should embark on the most concrete action possible; one should go into the village, one should go among the people, one should go to work organizations and wage the battle there. The battle should be won in the shortest possible span of time. This is an obligation imposed on us by the foreign political situation as well as by our internal situation. [Passage indistinct] The main issue is certainly the emigration of Montenegrins and [word indistinct] in these three municipalities. If there is any emigration of Albanians it is necessary also to examine why they are emigrating. Nobody in Yugoslavia has the right to force somebody else to move. We must be very energetic in this regard.

In Kosovo people have gone so far as to politically expose before an entire village those Albanians who carried out dishonest actions toward Serbs and Montenegrins and their property and who offended their human dignity. This should be applied. One should go into battle at full tilt, with full political force. In particular we must not allow brotherhood and unity to be (?violated), mistrust to be created, making people feel insecure in their own country, in their own area. Regardless of who the person is we must fight against this. Otherwise we shall betray a promise which we made to Comrade Tito when we said that we shall continue Tito's path.

Tito always said that we must safeguard brotherhood and unity, develop equality, right for all people living in brotherhood in our Federal Socialist Yugoslavia. If in some place or another the forces are not sufficient to combat such counter-revolutionary phenomena, it is our duty to strengthen these forces and even to bring them in from outside, regardless of which part of our country this happens. It is our duty to protect equally every citizen in our country. We must not, merely because in some places the forces, even after so much time, are not strong enough there, allow endless cases of rape, beatings and threats to the integrity of people, damage to property and such like. Should there exist in a situation in those three municipalities of yours in which any of these human and social values are threatened, we have both the forces and the means of protection.



It should be clear to all counterrevolutionary forces both in Kosovo and here, or anywhere else in Yugoslavia, Ljubicic said, that we shall tackle very energetica'ly any counterrevolution and that we shall defeat it. Communists must be at the head. Communists must lead the people into these battles, they must mobilize the people. Veterans can help a lot in the mobilization of the people because it is certain that there is no single leader today who will not accept cordially the veterans of the revolution. Therefore, Ljubicic said, it is our duty to devote ourselves as much as possible to combating everything which could continue to threaten our security, everything which is directed at destabilizing our society.

I would be very pleased if you were to tell me that there are Serbs, Montenegrins and Albanians who are returning to their native hearth and that you helped them to achieve this, Ljubicic said in addressing the members of the aktiv of the South Morava region. I believe that it is our duty to do this. If anybody has left under pressure, if anybody has sold his estate for a mere pittance, let us help him to buy back his estate. Let us help him return, let us put right the injustice done to him, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of Serbia said at the end of his speech to the representatives of the South Morava region.

CSO: 2800/10

## SECURITY CONTROL COMMISSION TO BE FORMED

AU150736 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Summary] At a joint session today, the Committee for Internal Affairs and the Committee for Justice of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber adopted a report on the work of the federal court in 1981. Momcilo Boskovic reports:

In the past period, the federal court devoted special attention to the quality of work and the implementation of federal laws and other federal regulations in the practice of courts and other organs. It also actively participated in initiating and preparing amendments to the individual federal laws and continued to point out the necessary measures and tasks to eliminate the socially negative and harmful phenomena recorded by courts. However, according to delegates, there are still differences in the penal policies followed in the individual republics and provinces, and the rights of veterans of the national liberation war and the traffic offenses also are not treated in the same way in all republics and provinces.

In the 1978-81 period, the federal court annually received an average of 3,000 to 3,500 new cases. The general view expressed by the delegates is that the federal court's report for 1981 "insufficiently deals with the crimes constituting an attack on the freedom of the people and the values of our society." The same applies also to the problem of the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. "The report also says little about the political crimes in Kosovo and about the federal court's views of those crimes." According to Miodrag Trifunovic, president of the Committee for Justice, in the coming period, the federal court must inform the SFRY Assembly in good time about all negative phenomena encountered in its work and propose measures to prevent them.

At a separate session, the Committee for Internal Affairs "supported the draft decision to form a commission to control the state security service. The task of the commission will be to obtain an insight into the lawfulness of the work of the organs engaged in the tasks of state security, especially as regards the respect for human rights and freedom determined by the constitution and laws as well as the rights of organizations of associated labor and other organizations and sociopolitical communities. The commission should be acquainted with the methods of work and the means used by the service in the tasks within its authority. But it would also consider the problems of the service and submit the appropriate reports and proposals to the competent Chamber of Yugoslavia's Assembly. The commission would be in fact a working body of the Federal Chamber, and its members would be appointed exclusively from among the ranks of delegates."

CSO: 2800/10

DRAGOSLAV MARKOVIC CRITICIZES OPEN PRESS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 82 p 5

[Report of speech by Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee: "Journalists Are Not the 'Inspectors' of Society"]

[Text] At the last meeting of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, several discussants spoke about the press and certain phenomena in it. On the basis of a stenographic transcription, we are reporting the speech by Dragoslav Markovic [as follows]:

I would like to say something about the news media. I think that the problem is quite important and quite serious, and some things are not in order. I think that there is in fact a "blackmailing" of the system of our socialist self-managing democracy in the news media as a whole.

The fact that an editorial board has at its disposal social property, a printing press, that it has a transmission station, etc., does not give it a monopoly on opinion, either positive or negative. This is an opinion that is equal to 10,000 opinions of other collectives. The fact that you have a microphone and "Zmaj" does not, the fact that you have a printing press and the public health institution does not, does not give you the right to priority for your opinion over other opinions.

The Founders of Democracy

These opinion may appear during the complex process of the self-managing formation of positions. Not even the Central Committee adopts an opinion on the basis of a report or a discussion any more. This is because working groups are formed, consultations are held with the intercommune and commune conferences, the work organizations are contacted, and only then is a decision arrived at, through a fairly complex, long, and fairly democratized path, not to say democratic, a fully democratic path. We need to clarify things in regard to this. Journalists behave like inspectors of socialist self-management, above the entire mechanism of our society. For example, if you will excuse me, a high official comes to the radio station and talks. The journalist concludes the conversation and says, "Comrade, you will come in a week after the schools are in operation in order to tell us about the initial experiences." "Maybe I will come, maybe I will be busy, maybe I will

not come." What is this, what kind of force is this? What is this? I think that we do not speak in the right manner when we speak about one article or another. There will always be good and bad articles, and there will be lapses, just as there are in other places. Since this is a sensitive matter, we should struggle to have fewer lapses and more responsibility here. A climate and atmosphere have been created in which the editors, chief editors, and directors feel themselves to be deprived of authority. According to the law and the constitution, the job of the director and the editor, as well as of every other manager of an administrative body, is to be responsible, and this means [the ability] to stop some decision that lies in the technological process, before decisions by certain [other] bodies; here he is deprived of authority, and here he resists it. We should see when some article is dropped out, when some broadcast is dropped out, etc. A terrible pressure is being exerted on behalf of so-called freedoms, on behalf of so-called democracy.

The journalists are not the only ones to be the founders of democracy in our society. Furthermore, this is not a question of good and bad journalists, or a question of personnel being oriented toward self-management or not, although, to tell the truth, there are some personnel who have a hostile orientation toward this society and the efforts of our society.

With a majority of the journalists, this is not the case; rather, it has to do with a group-property attitude that has led to the news media becoming political centers, partners of the government authorities and the political leadership of this country. This is the problem, and we have to clear this up both in the LC and in the administrative bodies. The news media, as well as some other institutions, are declared by the constitution to be organizations of particular social interest, where the social councils (let us use this word arbitrarily), where the social councils have limited the self-managing rights of working people in these work organizations, even in financial affairs, and not just in the orientation of programs and in program policy, although these two matters are closely linked.

We have achieved a fair amount, however, with respect to the public nature of decision-making, with respect to the publicity with which decisions are made; we have to make further efforts in this direction, and the news media have played a very significant and very positive role in this regard. Without their effectiveness, involvement, and staffing, this process could not occur so rapidly, but a conviction has been created that in this country everything has to be public. Not everything can be public in this society. We should say this directly.

#### Responsibility for Public Speech

Not every piece of information on the indebtedness of Yugoslavia, the payments due, or the difficulties that we are having with JAT [Yugoslav Airlines] is for the public, both on account of our public and the international public. Our partners and friends from friendly countries have come to us and said, "Is it a good idea for you to do this? You are looking for credits, but you are speaking about how you are insolvent and incapable of repaying your debts!" "You are expecting foreign currency from tourism, but you are reporting every



pump that does not have gasoline!" There is a certain responsibility. There has to be a social responsibility for reporting the facts. In the interest of correct and more complete reporting, I am in favor of having accredited journalists attend all of the more important meetings and having them informed of all the facts, but they should not consider themselves to be the only ones responsible for publicity; this is a joint job and we should share it. Finally, it was the LC and our self-management system that fought for publicity, and not the journalists from one publication or another.

There has to be a great deal of responsibility for public speech. The responsibility for public speech must furthermore be borne by the people in the news media, and also by politicians. We should not seek to shift part of our own responsibility onto the press. I do not believe that any of us thinks that a journalist can give himself the right to publish or not publish, censor or not censor, a statement by any official, if he insists on being reported, for the sake of equality, etc. Also, a journalist cannot be responsible for any statements published by the press; the person who is speaking has to be responsible.

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